

SOCIOLOGY

— AND —

SOCIAL RESEARCH

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

Leadership in China	
HERBERT D. LAMSON	103
Beyond Civilization	
CLARENCE MARSH CASE	117
Education and Negro Attitudes	
D. D. DROBA	137
Drama and Human Attitudes	
MELVIN J. VINCENT	142
Owner-Tenant Contrasts	
THOMAS C. McCORMICK	153
Intermarriage in Hawaii	
MARGARET LAM	159
Social Distance and Religious Groups	
EMORY S. BOGARDUS	167
Book Notes	174
International Notes	180
Social Research Notes	184
Social Photoplay Notes	188

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LEADERSHIP IN CHINA

*An Analysis of the Birthplace, Age, Occupation,
and Education of Present-Day Leaders*

HERBERT D. LAMSON

University of Shanghai

THE PRESENT ARTICLE is the result of an attempt to discover something about the prominent men and women of China, persons who hold in their hands the guidance of the millions living here to the West of the Pacific. This has been done through an analysis of the biographical sketches included in the fourth edition of *Who's Who in China*.¹ There are 960 persons included in our study, of whom 21 are women. These have been classified into eighteen occupational divisions and each individual assigned to one of these classes, although in many instances it was possible to place the notable in one of several groups. The assignment has been made according to the work which seems to be predominant or upon which the man's reputation chiefly depends.

Table I shows the occupational distribution of these best known of China's leaders. It will be observed that by far the largest single class is that of the government officials, which embraces 402 persons, nearly 42 per cent of all. If

¹ Published in 1931 by the *China Weekly Review*, Shanghai. The Third Edition has been analyzed by the present writer in the *China Critic*, November 20, 1930, p. 1113.

we add to this number the diplomats, consular officers, and the military and naval officers, we have then 55 per cent of all inclusions occupied in direct government service. In China under the Empire, the scholar-official occupied about the most desirable of all callings, at least in popular eyes. The holding of a government post not only gave a great deal of "face," but also furnished opportunities for private enrichment. This old ideal has not entirely lost its force, since a position in the government,—national, provincial, or local, seems to be a thing greatly sought after even today.

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Government officials	402	41.87
Educators	122	12.70
Business men	113	11.77
Military and naval officers	97	10.10
Judges and lawyers	52	5.42
Engineers	38	3.96
Diplomats and consuls	31	3.23
Religious and social workers	27	2.81
Journalists and editors	26	2.71
Physicians	21	2.19
Aviators	6	0.63
Agricultural experts	5	0.52
Revolutionists	5	0.52
Artists	4	0.42
Architects	4	0.42
Authors	4	0.42
Library experts	2	0.21
Actors	1	0.10
TOTAL	960	100.00

Of the twenty-one women included in the series, eleven are in educational work, three are social or religious workers, two each are physicians and government officers, one is a lawyer, one an artist, and one a voice specialist in music.

One naturally asks how these men and women happened to be included in this volume, what was the basis upon which they were selected. The publishers state:

The biographies were collected in various ways, by correspondents, obtained from the individuals themselves, or from personal friends. The book makes no claim regarding the inclusion of the prominent men and women in China, because the Chinese people, unlike Occidentals, are, generally speaking, not "publicity minded." Many Chinese men and women, well known in their home districts for public service and philanthropies, particularly among the older generation, steadfastly refuse to permit their pictures and life histories to appear in the public prints. This probably explains why this edition contains a much larger proportion of sketches of younger men and women, especially those who have been educated abroad, or in modern educational institutions in China, who are more and more coming into control of affairs in this Republic. . . .

No hard and fast rules have been applied as to those whose sketches should appear in the book, in fact we have no knowledge of any having been excluded. Also, needless to say, the inclusion of biographical sketches has entailed no obligation upon those whose names appear, not even the necessity of purchasing a copy of the book. . . . The daily newspapers naturally provide the best source of information in the compilation of a book of this character.

BIRTHPLACE OF THE LEADERS

It is well known that various sections of any large nation are not equal in their ability to produce notable persons. We have analyzed the men and women in *Who's Who in China* according to provinces in which they were born. The results are shown in Table II. Chekiang and Kiangsu each contribute slightly more than 16 per cent of all persons in the study, but since the former has a smaller number of inhabitants its ratio per million of the present population is considerably above that of Kiangsu. The first six provinces: Chekiang, Kiangsu, Kwangtung, Hopei, Fுகien, and Liaoning (formerly Fengtien), are what may be

termed seacoast provinces. These include prominent ports such as Canton, Hongkong,² and Swatow in Kwangtung; Amoy and Foochow in Fukien; Ningpo in Chekiang; Shanghai and Nanking in Kiangsu; Tientsin in Hopei; Newchwang, Port Arthur, and Dairen in Liaoning. Peiping (formerly Peking, the nation's capital) is in Hopei province, Hangchow is in Chekiang, and Soochow is in Kiangsu. The last three cities are prominent cultural centers.

The first six provinces furnish approximately 70 per cent of all the people in *Who's Who in China*. Shantung is the only coastal province which falls low in comparison to the leading provinces. Of those provinces which are not along the coast, Hupeh furnishes the highest percentage of leaders, having 4.69 per cent, or 1.57 per million of the population. A glance at a map of China shows that the Yangtze River flows through the entire length of the province, and on this river within the provincial boundaries are situated the open river ports of Hankow and Ichang. Anhwei province is also away from the coast, being just behind both Kiangsu and Chekiang, and has 3.85 per cent of the leaders, or 1.7 per million. Similarly, Kiangsi lies just behind Chekiang, Fukien, and Kwangtung. It furnishes 3.75 per cent of the notables, or 1.31 per million. Thus these three provinces, Anhwei, Hupeh, and Kiangsi, which are situated on what might be termed the first interior line away from the seacoast, furnish from one to two leaders per million, while the coastal provinces, excepting Shantung, furnish from 2.7 to 7.8 per million.

The provinces which produce leaders at a still lower rate, from 0.5 to 0.9 per million, are also interior places, excepting Shantung. These are the two northernmost provinces of Manchuria, Kirin and Heilungkiang, also a cluster of contiguous provinces in the southern interior,

² Although Hongkong is a British Crown Colony politically, yet geographically and sociologically it may be considered a part of Kwangtung province.

TABLE II
DISTRIBUTION BY BIRTHPLACE

<i>Province</i>	<i>No. Per Million of Population</i>	<i>Total Number</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Chekiang	7.81	161	16.77
Kiangsu	4.43	160	16.67
Kwangtung	4.02	148	15.42
Fukien	3.93	67	6.98
Hopei (formerly Chihli)	2.92	92	9.58
Liaoning (formerly Fengtien)	2.73	41	4.27
Anhwei	1.70	37	3.85
Hupei	1.57	45	4.69
Kiangsi	1.31	36	3.75
Yunnan	1.09	12	1.25
Shansi	1.08	13	1.35
Kirin	0.89	6	0.63
Shangtung	0.87	30	3.12
Kwangsi	0.73	8	0.83
Hunan	0.64	26	2.71
Kweichow	0.61	7	0.73
Heilungkiang	0.57	2	0.21
Honan	0.43	15	1.56
Shensi	0.42	5	0.53
Mongolia, Tibet, and Sinkiang	0.39	6	0.63
Szechuen	0.28	17	1.77
Kansu	0.13	1	0.10
Foreign countries	13	1.35
Not stated	12	1.25
TOTAL		960	100.00

Kwangsi, Hunan, and Kweichow. The group in which fewest notables in our series were born, from none to 0.49 per million, is likewise in the interior, consisting of Honan, Shensi, Szechuen, Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet.³

³ The publishers state: "It is perhaps inevitable that the book contains a larger proportion of the sketches of residents of the coastal or more accessible districts. The disturbed political situation often prevented mail communications with certain areas in the interior, which explains the limited number of sketches from such provinces as Kweichow, Szechuen, Shansi, Shensi, Kansu, Sinkiang, Jehol, Suiyuan, Charhar, and Yunnan. Those however who are included from these districts represent in most cases the leading personages, particularly officials."

It should be noted that we have been speaking of provinces not on the basis of present residence, but on the basis of birthplace. However, in that the farther removed from the coast the people are the more likelihood there is of their remaining in their own province, what the publishers state bears some weight. Jehol, Suiyuan, and Charhar are rather recently created provinces and so would not appear in an analysis on the basis of birthplace of present-day leaders.

It is probable, since the volume was published in Shanghai, the largest city in China, that there was a tendency in compilation to secure a larger proportion of names from persons now resident in the most accessible places. It is also probably true that persons born in coastal provinces find their way to the prominent coastal cities as places of residence, more readily than do those born in more remote districts of the Republic. In spite of this possible factor in the selection of the persons included, we feel that there is actually a preponderance of notable persons produced in these leading provinces. We are not prepared to say that the biological inheritance of the people born along the coast is superior to that of other Chinese in more remote places, but we do contend that, considering the geographical location of the coastal provinces, it is in harmony with the principle of cultural diffusion, to expect that these regions which first receive modern inventions, ideas, and educational institutions from overseas will have a corresponding advantage in the production of notable men and women. Persons born here are thus placed in closer contact with opportunities of all kinds.

The ports which were declared open to foreign trade and commerce were naturally the places in which modern ideas first had their effects, and today when something new comes to China from the Occident, it arrives first at the great ports, such as Hongkong, Shanghai, or Tientsin, and from these places spreads up the waterways and railways into the hinterland. Among these early cultural impulses arriving at the ports were those carried by the missionaries who brought Western medical knowledge and general modern education. Gradually institutions of higher learning were established, chiefly in the coastal provinces or in those bordering the Yangtze River, in such cities as: Canton, Hongkong, Foochow, Amoy, Hangchow, Shanghai, Nan-

king, Wuchang, Tientsin, and (then) Peking. These centers of learning, with colleges operated both by governmental and missionary agencies, naturally attracted then, and draw now, most strongly and in largest numbers those who were born in or near these centers. It seems obvious that a smaller proportion of the young residents of remote Kansu province will come to Shanghai for training than will arrive from Kiangsu in which this city is located. Since being a leader in present-day China demands a high degree of education, except perhaps for some military men, it seems clear that those people born in provinces where there are the most stimulating contacts and educational opportunities have a greater chance of becoming prominent.

Let us look, for example, at the leaders who attended Tsing Hua University in Peiping. We find that out of 43 men, 34 were born in one or another of seven coastal provinces,—nine in Kiangsu, eight in Chekiang, five in Fukien, five in Kwangtung, three in Hopei, and two each in Liaoning, and Shantung. The other nine men were born in Szechuen, Hupeh, Kiangsi, and Hunan, all interior provinces through parts of which the great Yangtze River flows.

Again, consider the 61 leaders who attended St. John's University in Shanghai, an old missionary institution founded as a Middle School in 1879. There are 54 who were born in the four coastal provinces of Kiangsu (24), Chekiang (17), Kwangtung (9), and Fukien (4). These two institutions were selected for the test since they represent respectively the governmental and missionary universities in which the largest number of persons in *Who's Who in China* received their higher education in China.

Hopei, in which the former capital is situated, leads all other provinces in the production of military leaders, 23 having been born there, while the nearest province in point of numbers is Shangtung, which furnishes nine. Fukien

provides eight naval officers. Although Chekiang is the leading province in total number and in rate per million, it only has two military leaders in our volume. Kiangsu only produced four, while Kwangtung is credited with seven. North China thus seems to have been the most prolific source of the military *tuchun*. Chekiang leads all other provinces in the number of lawyers, business men, and educators, and it ties with Kwangtung for first place in respect of officials. Kiangsu leads in the number of physicians, journalists, and diplomats.

CLASSIFICATION BY AGE

Table III shows the age distribution of these notables. The youngest and the oldest persons in the book are both business men, aged 22 and 83 respectively. Of the 815 persons whose ages are stated, the average is 46.1 years, and the mode 43. The group having the largest number of persons is the 40-44 year division which includes 179 persons, or 18.65 per cent of the 960 cases. Twenty-two per cent of all inclusions are under forty years old, while 57 per cent are under fifty. Expressed in another manner, 20 per cent are in their thirties, 35 per cent in their forties, 19 per cent in their fifties, 7 per cent in their sixties, and 1.5 per cent in their seventies.

When the leaders are arranged by their average age according to occupation, we find that the five men known as "revolutionists" are the oldest, averaging 54.6 years. This may seem somewhat curious until we understand that these men were prominent in helping to overthrow the Manchu régime twenty years ago, when their average age would have been about thirty-four years. They are still known by this title because of past efforts rather than for their present activities. The recent young revolutionists are for the most part holding government positions,

except those who are not in harmony with the Nanking government.

TABLE III
DISTRIBUTION BY AGE

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
20-24	2	0.21
25-29	14	0.46
30-34	68	7.08
35-39	128	13.33
40-44	179	18.65
45-49	157	16.36
50-54	122	12.70
55-59	66	6.88
60-64	43	4.48
65-69	22	2.29
70-74	14	1.46
75-79	1	0.10
80-84	1	0.10
Not stated	143	14.90
TOTAL	960	100.00

Military officers average 49.5 years, business men 48.7, government officials 47.7. Regarding this last figure it may be stated that it would be even lower if a number of non-active retired officials of the old régime were not in the volume. It is true that the government of China is in the hands of comparatively young men. Diplomatic and consular officials average 46.6 years; medical men and women, 44.5; journalists, 43.5; social and religious workers, 43.4; the legal profession, 43.1; engineers, 42; educators, 41.1; aviators, 38.2; the one actor is 38; three architects 37; three authors 35.7; two library experts 34; four agricultural specialists 32; and three artists 31.7 years.

Several factors may be mentioned in support of the statement that the notables of China are relatively young men. In the first place, the reputed high death rate of China means that the average life span of her citizens is probably two decades less than that prevailing in the United States,

and for this reason some prominent and promising men are cut off at an age earlier than would be the case were health conditions better. This would make a smaller proportion of older men in the population. In the second place, there appears to be a tradition of rather early retirement from active life. The Chinese seem to be more able to remain content in a life of quiet retirement at home, if their situation permits, than do Americans who seem to be unhappy unless actively at work. We recall that when Captain Robert Dollar, veteran steamship magnate in his eighties, came to Shanghai on a business trip and addressed the students at our university, there was great interest in the fact that he, a venerable white-haired man with ample means, should still be at work and traveling on business so far from home. One student said to me, "If he were a Chinese he would have retired long ago to enjoy his life in leisure at home."

A third factor making for a preponderance of younger men in places of prominence and leadership at present is the political overturn that came in 1911-12 with the overthrow of the Empire. At that time many leaders found themselves out of harmony with the new republican ideas of government propounded by the younger revolutionists. The result was that the social and political upheavals left many men unable or unwilling to accept the new day and to make the adjustments demanded. The old classical system of education did not prepare men for the changed ideals and conditions, for it was modern education with its diversified and practical training which was needed. It was too late for men of forty to secure this new education, and now we have relatively few active leaders at sixty, twenty years after the beginning of the revolution. It was easier for young men to take up the new tasks than for middle-aged ones to change their ways and outlook on life. Many of the latter therefore went into retirement.

TABLE IV

EDUCATION ABROAD

<i>Country</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
China only	307	31.98
Received foreign education only in:		
United States	286	29.80
Japan	119	12.40
England	46	4.79
France	21	2.19
Germany	6	0.63
Belgium	6	0.63
Straits Settlements	2	0.21
Switzerland	1	0.10
Siam	1	0.10
Czarist Russia	1	0.10
Studied in more than one foreign country:		
United States and England	6	0.63
United States and Germany	4	0.42
United States and Japan	3	0.31
England and France	3	0.31
France and Japan	3	0.31
Germany and Japan	2	0.21
England and Germany	2	0.21
England and Switzerland	2	0.21
France and Czarist Russia	1	0.10
France and Switzerland	1	0.10
England and Japan	1	0.10
United States and Canada	1	0.10
More than three nations	3	0.31
Not stated	132	13.75
TOTAL	960	100.00

EDUCATION OF CHINA'S LEADERS

The analysis of the education of the men and women in our series is based upon the schools at which they studied. Table IV presents the countries in which the 960 persons received their training. There are 307, or 32 per cent, whose education was secured wholly in China, at least as far as attendance at schools abroad is concerned. It must

be added, however, that some of these 307 mention observation trips and visits to other countries, but the information concerning these visits is not sufficiently definite to warrant drawing any conclusions other than that when education in foreign institutions is not stated we can be fairly certain that there was none to report, since this type of information forms one of the chief parts of the sketches and constitutes a part of the life of the individual of which he is proud. To have been educated abroad is a thing which very definitely gives "face," and the presumption is that if the man or woman studied in some specific institution abroad, the fact would be clearly stated. There are 521 cases in which attendance at one or more schools abroad is definitely mentioned, making 54.3 per cent of all cases. If, however, we count only those 828 leaders in which education of some sort is stated, then 62.9 per cent have studied in schools abroad.

The United States stands well ahead of all other countries as the place in which the outstanding figures of China received their foreign education. Out of 521 receiving education overseas, 302 or 58 per cent, attended schools in America, while 286 out of 521 leaders, 54.9 per cent, received *all* of their foreign education there. Japan is next in order. Out of 521 persons studying abroad, a total of 128 studied there, or 24.5 per cent. Although Japan is much closer to China than is America, the latter educated more than twice as many of the Chinese notables included in the volume under analysis.

We have presented in Table V the names of the universities in which five or more outstanding Chinese have studied in the United States. In this list a student may be included in more than one institution, since a considerable number have been in attendance at several American universities.

TABLE V

DISTRIBUTION BY UNIVERSITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

<i>University</i>	<i>Number</i>
Columbia	80
Harvard	34
Yale	30
Chicago	21
Michigan	21
Cornell	21
University of Illinois	17
University of Pennsylvania	15
Princeton	12
University of California	12
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	10
Johns Hopkins	9
New York University	9
Wisconsin	9
Oberlin, Brown, Lehigh, Northwestern, each	5

Another aspect of the education of these leaders is the type received and institutions attended in China, which have been analyzed irrespective of foreign education. In 620 out of 960 cases, specific schools located in China were stated. Of these 620 people, 199 or 32.3 per cent attended at some time in their career a school or college operated by missionary agencies, while 421 attended non-missionary institutions. If we take the missionary school percentage of the whole 960 cases it comes to 20.7 per cent. In many of the sketches the elementary and secondary education is not clearly stated, or is omitted, the college only being given, and as a result it is quite likely that a larger number attended some missionary school of elementary or secondary grade. Many of the older men were educated with private tutors and later studied under famous scholars. There are many of this type among those cases in which the school is not stated.

The majority of the full-fledged mission colleges are operated by American missions. The British and Euro-

peans have not invested as heavily in higher education in China as have the Americans. This is one reason why so many Chinese students go to America rather than to England or to Europe for graduate work. Another reason is the arrangement for sending students under the returned Boxer Indemnity Fund. In addition, there are certain Foundations which make it possible to send students to the United States.

Turning to the 421 leaders attending non-missionary schools in China, chiefly specialized technical schools or colleges, we discover that Tsing Hua, founded with money from the American Boxer Indemnity Fund, heads the list with 44 leaders, after which follow various government and private institutions. Of the 421 cases, 123, or 29.2 per cent, attended military or naval schools.

Private educational ventures as well as those operated by governments are on the increase. Not long ago financial drives were held by Chinese in Shanghai for two new colleges. The demand for higher education is great, and institutions seem to have no trouble in securing students, although many are poorly prepared and have to be turned away. Education is, as of old, eagerly sought after in harmony with the old proverb which runs, "A vacant mind is open to all suggestions, as a hollow building echoes all sounds."

BEYOND CIVILIZATION*

CLARENCE MARSH CASE

University of Southern California

UNDER THE INFLUENCE of machine-equipped science, as the present writer has tried to show in another place,¹ life in the West has moved so persistently along the path of analysis and abstraction that machine production, planless distribution, social disorganization, and moral disintegration now seriously imperil the world. In this plight one may agree with Spengler in his *Decline of the West* that there is possible no turning back through discarding the machine, without accepting his other dictum, that there is no going forward. The watchword, however, must not be merely, "Toward Civilization!" as in the symposium edited by Professor Charles A. Beard under that title, but "Beyond Civilization!" —*civilization* meaning, as used in this paper, simply any machine-equipped and machine-ridden culture.

This calls for something more than a slogan—something as definite as our painful ignorance of both fact and truth will permit. It raises the most difficult but most important problem in social science, namely, whether it is possible for society to direct its own course through the application of human intelligence. The outstanding figure here is Lester F. Ward, who devoted his numerous sociological writings to the elucidation of "social teleosis," as he chose to call it. The question was formulated most impressively from the negative side in many essays by William Graham Sumner, whose attitude might be fairly expressed in the

* Read before the Faculty Social Science Club, University of Southern California, May, 1932.

¹ *The Personalist*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, (September-October, 1932), and following numbers.

following paraphrase: "Can anyone find an instance in all history where a nation set a goal to be attained, devised means for its attainment, applied those means, and reached that goal? It cannot be found." In his essay entitled "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over," Sumner says: "Everyone of us is the child of his age and cannot get out of it. He is in the stream and is swept along with it. All his science and philosophy come to him out of it. Therefore the tide will not be changed by us. It will swallow up both us and our experiments. . . . That is why it is the greatest folly of which a man is capable, to sit down with a slate and pencil to plan out a new social world."²

Herbert Spencer had previously declared that efforts on the part of man to direct the course of evolution, particularly by means of legislation, could only result in making things worse; to which Ward replied that the very fact that our efforts do make things worse is itself evidence that we are having *some* effect upon the course of social change. That gives room for encouragement, for we have only to acquire social wisdom in order to exert a *good* effect, thereby producing social progress.³

Ward's writings constitute a masterly refutation of Spencer and Sumner, as far as *theory* goes, but as a matter of *practice* societal self-direction along comprehensive and progressive lines has not occurred, either before or since, so far as I am able to show. Nevertheless societal self-direction is not only logically sound but ethically imperative, when we consider the deplorable state of affairs on

² While I have searched Sumner's writings in vain in the effort to locate the passage above paraphrased, as I believe, from his words, it fairly represents his characteristic thought on this question. The essay *quoted* is found in *War and Other Essays*, by William Graham Sumner (New Haven, 1911), edited by A. G. Keller.

³ Cf., Spencer's essay entitled "The Sins of Legislators," in his *Social Statics and Man versus the State*; also "The Political Ethics of Herbert Spencer," by Lester F. Ward, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, IV (1894), pp. 582-619; and various other passages in the writings of both these authors.

this planet; for in the present partial paralysis of civilization we behold the outcome of the policy of social drifting and laissez faire. It is true that there has been much social legislation and some social reconstruction, but all has been in the nature of piece-meal patchwork. Even worse, everything has been done with very partial vision, impelled by special interests in most cases, and uniformly without a comprehensive social purpose, goal, or plan.

Goal-setting itself, although it presents the supreme test of individual and social intelligence, has no special organ in the case of even the most enlightened governments. The deliberative function is left to be exercised incidentally, in connection with special enterprises by private groups or legislative bodies. In fact, the larger plan and goal are treated as mere by-products of the special purposes. Meanwhile "the shadow of the man on horseback" is seen by thinkers of high ability, notably James Truslow Adams in his challenging paper by that title⁴ in a recent magazine. He shows with the firm strokes of a master the steady decline in political sagacity and integrity which has attended the course of popular self-government from the days of Washington to the present hour.

If we may hope to advance through the present crisis and guide our course *beyond civilization* into enlightenment and a true collectivism worthy of humanity, some suggestion in the way of method is called for just here. I therefore venture to propose a *National Council on Social Goals and Welfare*, whose function would be to determine the objects of social striving in a detached and comprehensive way, analogous to the deliberations and decisions of the United States Supreme Court. Its decisions should be mandatory upon legislatures to carry them out through statutes, and would constitute a part of the supreme law of

⁴ *The Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1932.

the land along with the decisions of the Supreme Court itself. The principal difference would be that while the decrees of the Court deal with rights and duties under existing law, and thus have to do with *order*, the mandates of the Council would deal with relations under laws that *ought to be* and would thus look toward the future and *progress*. Its membership, chosen for long terms, or life during good behavior, might be elected by occupational and professional groupings representative of the dominant interests actually existing in the life of the people. Then the lower house of congress would rest on blocks of population, the upper on territorial divisions, both as at present, and the proposed deliberative and telic department, not now existent in any form, would rest upon the vital interests of the people themselves.

By such means we might avoid the dictatorship of the man on horseback on one hand and the dictatorship of the proletariat on the other, by placing ourselves under the mandatory guidance of the *élite*, the "philosopher-statesmen" of Plato's *Republic*, but here elected by the people, and charged with the task of telling us where to set our goals, in the hope of gaining what, in our better moments, we really want. This is just what any person of character and purpose does with his own life. He rouses himself, takes himself in hand, and *dictates to himself*. This means simply that his higher self dictates to his lower, in the sense that his more distant and all-inclusive purposes and his momentary impulses are both part of his own personality. The two are made, in such cases, to work together more harmoniously in the life of their common owner. This is done by compelling the impulses of the moment to subordinate themselves to the more comprehensive purposes determined upon in moments of reflection, and consigned to the will for execution. In a day when dictatorships of

all shades are being either proposed or secretly desired, we here suggest one in which the people shall *dictate to themselves*, and by the same process through which an intelligent individual accomplishes that feat. The proposed *National Council on Social Goals and Welfare* would represent the higher and more rational aspect of the social or public mind, whose decrees would, by previous decision, have compelling authority over the more impulsive momentary impulses of that same collective mind as represented in the particular proposals and even projects of publicists and legislators, which represent only a partial and temporary movement of the national life.

The membership of the Council, functioning as the higher mind and purpose of the nation, would necessarily be composed of men and women representing various important social interests. It would include jurists, economists, sociologists, political scientists, philosophers, educators, artists, religious leaders, farmers, manufacturers, financiers, and others qualified to deal with the desired and desirable goals toward which the daily life and governmental policy of any people bent upon intelligent societal self-direction along progressive lines should be guided. Above all things its deliberations and decisions should be placed above the reach of popular whim, passion, or obstruction. "Government by clamor" is increasing in the United States at an alarming rate. The "sovereign people" become more and more dictatorial toward not only elected legislators, but even judges and grand juries, at the very time when its utter lack of discipline and social intelligence becomes more and more evident. It can hardly be stressed too strongly that we are facing a situation, in modern civilization, which has created at one stroke a more difficult economic and social order and less social maturity in the citizens for its management than the world has ever

seen before. In other words, there never before existed on the earth so great a disparity between the social task and the social intelligence at hand to perform it. The tribal-minded social infant in conjunction with complicated machine-civilization of planetary scope presents an incongruous combination full of grave portent for social progress. It seems reasonable to suggest that a civilized nation, especially one claiming to be highly enlightened, should take steps to exercise that same planful foresight which is believed to be the attribute of superior men, in the ordering of their private lives. Of course we dare not ignore the immense weight of reasoning presented, notably in Professor Cooley's *Social Process*, to show that all living things, whether plants, persons, institutions, or nations, grow by a tentative, groping, trial-and-error method, always more or less unconscious in character.⁵ Yet Cooley himself, after sapping most of the ground from beneath social telesis, could not refrain from adding a chapter on "Intelligence in Social Function," and another on "Rational Control Through Standards." Professor Ross also, after deprecating in his earlier writings the phrase "social progress" as hopelessly subjective, himself succumbed in a vigorous chapter on "Re-Shaping" in his *Principles of Sociology*, twenty and more years later. In similar fashion, Professor Keller seems to have yielded more fully to the seductions of societal self-direction during the interval between his *Societal Evolution* (1915) and his *Science of Society* (1927).

All this is significant of the power of this idea over the ablest sociological thinkers, even where logical defenses had been erected against it. And their experience is representative of the whole movement of popular and less strictly sociological thought during the last decade. At the

⁵ Cf. Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Process* (New York, 1918).

very time when the notion of deliberately directed social progress was supposedly laid to rest in a decent academic grave, we have witnessed a flood of magazine articles, monographs, chapters, and textbooks on every aspect of the subject, old and new. Doubtless the horrors of the World War and the calamities that followed have forced the conviction that something better than aimless social drifting is indispensable if human life on this globe is to go forward. If this be wishful thinking so much the better. All that is needed to make societal self-direction along progressive lines a feasible policy is the wide-spread practice of that kind of thinking on this subject among the masses of the people. Nothing stands in the way of an intelligent social order so much as the unintelligent apathy and social infatuity of the citizens at large; and the first step toward something better is to *wish* for it more earnestly and more generally.

The plan suggested above is admittedly far-fetched; if for no other reason than the fact that it is a product of detached reasoning on the problems of social progress. That in itself is alien to the prevailing temper. Among the intellectual, or rather the academic, classes it runs counter to the minutely analyzing, quantitatively measuring predilection of atomistic science.⁶ Among the populace it would interrupt the preoccupation of the average man with his pursuit of immediate personal ends. Aside from the necessary struggle for daily bread, and its bastard offspring the insatiable greed of gain, the most important thing in life seems to be, for multitudes of men—and women—the

⁶ Mechanistic tendencies aside, it may be regarded as even outside the limits of a broadly scientific sociology, if we correctly interpret the searching discussion of Professor Shenton, in which he concludes: "As sociology becomes more specifically a science of human association, the tendency will be to emphasize in applied sociology the ways and means of achieving proximate social ends. Such an emphasis, if it persists, will probably relegate to social philosophy the determination of comprehensive policies for the achievement of remote and as yet vaguely conceived ends."—Herbert N. Shenton, *The Practical Application of Sociology* (New York, 1927), p. 235.

obtaining of another smoke or another drink. Their astounding craving for the latter is driving multitudes to defy the statutes, dishonor the Constitution, and hob-nob with low-lived bootleggers. By such lawless patronage they create a colossal fund on which thrives the murderous crew of hi-jackers, racketeers, and underworld professional thuggery in general.

Many who practice such inconsistencies deceive themselves with the notion that law and order can be trampled under foot at one time and place, yet held in honor at all others. Another chimera is the assumption that upon the legalization of alcoholic liquors all the army of organized lawlessness will meekly disband, leaving only the sporadic individual criminal to be dealt with, as in the days before crime assumed the proportions of a leading industry. This same unthinking attitude winked at terroristic night-riding just after the World War, and has done likewise with gangster feuds in our great cities. The popular mind, which is essentially a child mind, seems unable to recognize the most hideous menaces against social welfare unless they chance to be dramatized in some unmistakable way such as happened to kidnapping when it invaded the Lindbergh nursery. Night-riding, bootlegging, drunken-driving, hi-jacking, racketeering, kidnapping—every one of these is a hideous social menace, a real bubonic plague or cancer, within the realm of social relations. But it is only the occasional citizen who shows any clear understanding of their deadly menace to all that decent men hold dear. When one reflects that our colonial forerunners understood such things and many more that are hidden from the social intelligence of their politically degenerate successors today, it is immensely disconcerting to our present effort at vindicating the capacity of the people to direct the course of social change toward soundly conceived goals

of general welfare. There is involved in this the problem of social infantility and social age, which I cannot take space to develop here, although I have tried to discuss it elsewhere.⁷ It tends more and more to disclose itself as the principal hindrance to societal self-direction, acute but happily not incurable. As I understand it, the social infant is a grown-up of normal body and mind who has carried his nursery attitudes over into adult life, especially the selfishness that marks the infant. In persons of normal social development this gives place, more or less fully, to a sense of the claims and welfare of others. Social age thus means growth in the socialized disposition. In a vital sense it is the altruistic *human nature* which is fostered in primary groups. Individuals vary in the degree to which they attain it. The governing factor lies in the intimate primary-group life, although for more mature intellectual persons there is much power in the appeal of moral and social idealism. At any rate social infantility is apparently not incurable, so that even for the swarming millions of grown-up babies that frolic in the pathway of social progress much might be done by proper treatment of a moral and social nature.

As for our National Council on Social Goals and Welfare, it is perfectly easy to raise a swarm of objections bearing upon its practicality, such as the method of selecting the members; the probable refusal of Congress to enact the legislation required to render its decrees effective; or even the likelihood that the people would nullify them as they have the prohibition laws. With the public mind on its present childish level, such objections are not easily answered. Herbert Spencer was eternally right when he said, "There is no political alchemy by which it is possible to get

⁷ In *Social Process and Human Progress*, Ch. VII "Social Age as a Key to Progress," Ch. VIII "The Social Infant and the Imbecile Group," Ch. IX "Youth and Social Progress."

golden conduct out of leaden instincts." Modern life, especially in the giant city which is its perfect symbol, with its over-speeded mobility, its superficial secondary contacts, its anonymity, individualism, selfish pursuit of pleasurable new experience, and thirst for social recognition of a frothy sort, has more of lead than gold in its makeup. And back of it all stands the all-important fact that the *spiritual community*, uniting men with God and to one another in a deep sense of the sacredness and eternal significance of life, of duty and devotion toward values immeasurably bigger than one's busy little self, or even a whole life spent measuring itself by itself—that this community has been immensely reduced by the growth and dissemination of a materialistic and mechanistic philosophy of life.

It is coming to be quite widely realized that the breakdown in modern life centers in the *human* factor. The two things just described, namely, the failure of the far-ranging, swiftly-moving modern mode of life to develop socialized persons of mature social age, and the decline of the spiritual community, account largely for that breakdown. In such cases the shortcoming is moral and spiritual. Alongside this we see an *intellectual* inadequacy in the fact that, with the whole world languishing in unparalleled depression and perplexity, no man or group of men seems able to explain its cause or to apply a remedy. Of those most responsible, namely, the financiers, industrialists, and economists, only a very few have spoken boldly, and their pronouncements, aside from painful inadequacy, yield mainly a confusion of voices. The plain truth is that our machine-made economic world is too big for our intellects, even those of the best. Plenty of "leaders" have shown themselves adept at exploiting the world-economy for personal gain, and at aggravating its evils, but utterly unable

to explain or control it except in the partial and selfish manner all too familiar in the life of individuals and nations. Here again we know in part and we prophesy in part, seeing only through a glass darkly—perhaps none so darkly as those who insist on the nation's entering more and more deeply into the affairs of world-economy while at the same time drawing more and more selfishly away from the world-community which alone can make that economy effective and of benefit to mankind, through an interchange of common ideals as well as material goods. Here again the human factor as such proves to be the root of the trouble—ancient tribal mind dabbling blindly in cosmopolitan matters far beyond its depth.

In all these things the causal factor is sufficiently evident to suggest the remedy, albeit only in general terms. The way of deliverance lies in a world-wide movement aimed at the re-evaluation of life. The growing conviction that neither science nor machines can save us constitutes a long stride in the right direction. Here is opportunity for a new crusade that might engage and satisfy the idealistic spirit of youth as marching for beer⁸ can never do it. Judge Lester Roth has recently suggested⁹ that the growth of crime in the United States may be explained by the fact that "the last frontier has been crossed." For the first time in history "The call of strange scenes and things that lie beyond the far-off haze is destined no longer to thrill the imagination of the daring." His thesis is suggested by the subtitle of his article: "Has the spirit of the old frontier turned lawless?" Judge Roth recognizes the field for adventurous spirits that still remains unexplored in the depths of the sea and in the air, but holds that they offer

⁸ Reference here is to the new "crusaders," as they sacrilegiously name their militant liquor campaign.

⁹ Cf. "Criminals or Adventurers?" by Judge Lester Roth in *Los Angeles Times Sunday Magazine*, May 22, 1932.

"outlets for a comparative few." The whole hypothesis is brilliant and ably presented, but the author neglects the most promising frontier left for adventurous spirits; and that is the struggle for a new social order. That way lies a new crusade which has been left thus far largely to the disinherited, impelled by that deep sense of injustice which makes the goal-process of Equalization as relentless in the long run as Utilization¹⁰ itself. For those historical materialists who think that the last named is the only process that is grounded in the basic facts of nature and life are misled by superficial analysis. One thing that can be said of all living things is that they are interested in themselves in the sense that they are self-biased, as Professor Perry has abundantly shown.¹¹ They must be so or perish, because life is always a precarious enterprise in the cosmos as constituted. It is because of this that the process of Utilization is inseparable from the life process itself, as everybody is able to understand. But the process of Equalization, (which always means here the equalization of opportunity, and not any effort at dead-levelism) is equally rooted in precisely the same thing, and that is the prime necessity of discriminating, selective behavior on the part of every life-loving creature. For every such being has sooner or later to learn that there are similar beings animated with the same primordial self-perpetuating interest who, if ruthlessly ignored, will become in themselves a hostile and active part of an already precarious environment. In other words, the same primordial life-force which, through self-interest, begets the ruthless aggressor raises up also the immovable resisters. As for the Evaluation process, instead of figuring as an afterthought and an ornamental aspect of the world, it was present when the lowest foundations of

¹⁰ For the sociological significance of the terms Utilization, Equalization, and Evaluation see *Social Process and Human Progress*, pp. 61-71.

¹¹ In *The Moral Economy*, by Ralph Barton Perry (New York, 1909).

life itself were laid. It exists in our very premise, namely, that all *values* are at bottom simply the *discriminations and selections* of self-biased, that is to say, living, beings.

The past and the future are ever united in the present. Consequently, as Professor Bouglé has finely phrased it, "One reforms only the given; one works only upon history. This is why the prime condition of all progress is always a tradition."¹² This is grandly true, but equally true is it, as sociologists also have pointed out, that "when a community has rejected the old traditions there is no direct way back to them. It must recreate what it cannot restore."¹³ Thus the old values have to be re-stated, perhaps with the very same content, but with different symbols, from age to age, as the epochs of history arise.

Returning to the specific theme, the two great goal-processes which I have called Equalization and Evaluation offer a vast, almost unexplored field for the adventurous spirit, imagination, and idealism of youth. Many heads are being broken every day on that frontier, and many social scalps will yet be taken. In fact, it is the most promising field for new experience now accessible to human adventure, and it presents the best answer to Professor William James' call for "a moral equivalent for war." In a world-wide youth movement across the frontiers of social and international idealism lies the greatest hope of humanity, and it is the great task of education and religion, in a word, religious education in a bigger and bolder sense than now exists, to bring about the march *beyond civilization*.

The particular direction which such a movement should take is fairly clear, for many are already on the way. One

¹² Cf. C. Bouglé, *The Evolution of Values* (New York, 1926), translation of Helen Stalker Sellars, p. 39.

¹³ Robert M. MacIver, *Community*, as quoted in Emory S. Bogardus, *Contemporary Sociology* (Los Angeles, 1931), p. 316.

of these tendencies is a deliberate repudiation of the giant city as an evil to be deliberately avoided. Twenty years ago Viscount James Bryce set forth seven "reasons why a great city is a great evil."¹⁴ During the two succeeding decades the menace of the overgrown cities has waxed worse, and they have now found in Oswald Spengler's great chapter on "The Soul of the City"¹⁵ a word-artist capable of portraying with adequate power their stupendous good and evil alike. It is the giant, overgrown city, the *megapolis*, that is referred to here. The ecological and technical reasons that once justified it hold true no longer, having been set aside by high-voltage power lines and truck-highways. Economically it has passed the point of diminishing returns. Until a certain magnitude is attained the city serves as the hospitable hearth of the finest aspects of the higher cultures; but beyond that point it becomes a consuming furnace for culture itself considered as a fit abiding place for the human spirit. Just now many are turning away from it and going back to the land. The movement should be encouraged, and every other possible means used to keep the city within bounds, or better, to scatter it into garden-cities. Like the machine, of which it is the final expression, the giant city is a real monstrosity when not controlled by human idealism. Along with all mechanism, it is a good servant but a very bad master. Only when the spirit of the living creature is lifted up can the wheels be lifted up; and only as the spirit of the living creature goes forward will the wheels go forward, as Ezekiel, with prophetic vision, so perfectly portrayed the truth as it is, both then, and now, and always.¹⁶

¹⁴ Number 20 in *National Housing Association Publications* (New York, 1913), as quoted in Clarence Marsh Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology* (New York, 1924) pp. 707 ff.

¹⁵ *The Decline of the West*, Vol. II, Chap. IV.

¹⁶ Ezek., I:15-21.

It may turn out that neither the rural peasant countryside nor the giant city is the form for the future, but something between the two. This is the villa of ancient times and the so-called "rurban" economy of contemporary American rural sociologists. The latter were driven to coin that word because they found themselves facing a kind of life which was neither *rural* nor *urban*, but which blended the characteristics of both, exactly as the new term itself combines the two older words. The whole of Southern California, with the possible exception of a very few extremely isolated sections of the mountains and the desert, is a rural-urban, or *rurban*, community. And even those remote spots seem destined to be caught up by the main stream of life under the rapid extension of highways, telephones, and privately installed radio receiving-sets. If this movement continues it may prove the solution of the present problem, to the extent that it is a national one, although at that it will have to operate in the face of the even more difficult problem of world-economy and international trade. But leaving that aside for the present, and proceeding upon the principle that one should first attempt to set his own national house in order, the present movement back to the land may possibly mark a turning-point in Western history. It is now remarked among the sociologists, particularly those of the ecological school, that *space* in the geographic sense has been practically eliminated as an important factor in community life. It has been translated by applied science, in a word the machine, into questions of *time* and *social distance*. This completely revolutionizes the problem of country life upon its social side, leaving the possibility of a satisfying existence there squarely up to economic theory and practice. The sociological analysis itself has been under way for a quarter of a century, beginning with the inauguration of the Country

Life Movement in 1907. Professor G. Walter Fiske pointed out, in 1916,¹⁷ "two parallel processes developing rather noticeably, the socializing and the urbanizing of country life." Socialization, in his terminology, was "a civilizing process" in which individuals grow into a community of purpose and efficient co-operative action. By "urbanization" he denoted "the spread of the social ideals and customs of the city." This he regarded as a detriment to country life, whereas socialization promised to solve many problems of rural sociology.

Since those words were written the situation has changed. The mail-order catalogue, which he mentioned as a potent factor, has been enormously supplemented with the automobile highway, telephone, airplane, and radio, so that there is no stemming the invasion of the rural districts by city modes of life. This urbanization, and not socialization as he defined it, is the "civilizing process," which has been traced elsewhere by the present writer¹⁸ as the depersonalization and mechanization of life. The truth is that the city is suffering from it also, and has in "urbanization" merely infected the country with its own malady, which is civilization itself. But in the movement of population back to the land, the possibility of a remedy appears. Let the tide of living beings follow their civilized machine-patterns out from the city into the open country, and the more disgusted and weary they are with the crowding, the din, and the superficial social racing of metropolitan existence, the more disposed they may be to help in building a finely socialized community life, mentally and spiritually united while dispersed throughout the land, in the daily presence of that natural beauty and comparative solitude which have always held a deep and abiding appeal for the human

¹⁷ In *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XI, 56-61.

¹⁸ In *The Personalist*, *op. cit.*

heart. In the degree that this turns out to be *villa* life its occupational and industrial base will still be the city, with partial expression in the countryside. Its extension beyond the villa zone depends upon our ability to master the economic problems of farming and other occupations of country life. But whatever its extent, the essential factor will be modern methods of transportation and communication brought into the service of truly human and genuinely social ideals; and thus by the union of men and machines under the guidance of social telesis a new kind of community, combining the best features of country and town, may even yet be achieved.

Another road to a less civilized and a better human world lies equally plain before us, and that is some comprehensive arrangement for the redistribution of wealth. A thorough and sweeping plan of social insurance beginning with unemployment and including provision for old age, offers probably the best method. It has the merit of being adequate without being radical, inasmuch as it limits the "rights" of private property without abolishing it. But all that is a matter of detail in the field of method.¹⁹ Without quibbling over ways and means, we need to recognize the all-important basic truth that no real and lasting prosperity can be expected in any land where the purchasing, and hence consuming, power of the great mass of the laboring people is kept so far below that which, on the basis of their proportionate number, they would naturally be expected to consume. These are elementary truths of social justice which cannot be gainsaid in the name of economic theory, for all such theory is merely a human interpretation

¹⁹ The important thing for our present discussion is to note the general truth that some such reform is required in order (1) to reduce the grotesque inequalities in the distribution of wealth regarded as a mere matter of difference in the objective, physical sense, and to remove the unnecessary anxiety of the poor; (2) to allay the sense of injustice that inevitably accompanies such inequalities; (3) to rescue democracy and social idealism from the *deadly menace that lurks* in such things.

of human evaluations colored by the existing institutional situation, as Professor Cooley's incomparable chapter on "The Sphere of Pecuniary Evaluation" clearly shows.²⁰ Economic theory lies closer to forensic and literary art than to natural law, and much of it can safely be laid aside like any other outworn body of dogma or interpretation. The fact that orthodox economics assumes the existing institutions of private property and the wage system as a datum for all its reasonings is sufficient proof of its merely *provisional* character, even if it were not already challenged by the new "welfare economics" within its own camp. In spite of its present disorganization, human nature may have possibilities within itself which must leave much of economic theory high and dry along with the machine-ridden world it is now preparing to leave behind, if the hope of a future beyond civilization is not destined to fail.

"Beyond civilization" does not, of course, mean that we are going to be so foolish as to wreck all the machines or turn our backs upon them. It means simply that they must come under the rational power which resides in men, amidst all their infantilities and follies, to perceive their larger common interest and compose their minor differences in order to attain it. Upon this distinctly human trait, most clearly portrayed by William Graham Sumner,²¹ rests the possibility of societal self-direction within nations and between them. A new world-order is emerging at Geneva through the heart-breaking strivings of those who are welding a World League in the very furnace of tribulation. Perhaps by means of it the spirit of humanity will some day not only reduce and curb the war-machine, but will prove itself able to master the machine economy itself. Furthermore, such rational control of it might

²⁰ *Social Process*, Chap. XXVII.

²¹ *Folkways*, p. 18 *et passim*; also in his *War, and Other Essays*, edited by A. G. Keller, Essay One.

make possible the world-wide diffusion not of the *universal culture scheme*, since the tribes of earth all possess it in their own right and heritage, but of such technical modification of it as is calculated to benefit all mankind. This would include improved methods of transportation and communication, hygiene and sanitation, and other nature techniques, along with such ideologies and idealisms as democracy, equality of the sexes, international co-operation, world peace, and any other culture patterns that possess appeal and benefit for human beings everywhere. If, upon that common basic scheme, the tribes of earth could rear the rich patterns of their own national cultures, mankind might pass by virtue of the machine itself beyond civilization into a new era of true enlightenment. In this we do not accept the doom pronounced by the great Spengler, who conceives of historical cultures as living beings, each with its own unique organization of values which perish with it when its life-cycle is completed. The point of view herein attempted is less imaginative and mystical, hence more prosaic. It is also more cheerful, if not more practicable, taking account of the universal culture scheme of Wissler as outlined in his *Man and Culture*. That scheme suggests an underlying unity in the cultures of all mankind, and a common stock or stem upon which might be engrafted whatever benefits machine civilization has really won when tested by universal human values. Along with this we have to recognize that not one of those historic cultures whose uniqueness so enthralls Spengler was developed in isolation. The recent researches of ethnologists into culture-history have revealed an astonishing amount of culture contact and diffusion as far back as our knowledge of the Ancient World is able to penetrate. In consequence, the conclusion is that about nine parts of any culture is borrowed where one part is originated. This is es-

pecially true of the great world-cultures, Indian, Babylonian, Arabian, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and European, described in Spengler's *Decline of the West*. It should be said of them as it was of men, that "none liveth to itself and none dieth to itself." This is true because of the historic fact that culture, like the fabled Phoenix bird, rises always out of its own ashes. As Spengler himself admits, the *race* continues (in his phraseology, the *blood triumphs*), and by the same token culture continues, since men have never been found existing without culture. The particular values and patterns which appeal so strongly to the artistic soul, as in Spengler pre-eminently, do die down and perish, but out of the primordial and ever-living root new culture stems arise and flourish, somewhat as one may behold, in the great groves of California, a *family tree* not dead but ever living, namely, the *Sequoia sempervirens*, whose overlapping generations spring out of one single rootage, and endure, as it were a single tree, for unnumbered generations.

EDUCATION AND NEGRO ATTITUDES*

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IN THIS PAPER a report is being made on a study of the effect of education on attitudes toward the Negro which was made at the Ohio State University in the spring of 1931. A course on the Negro extending over a period of three months is being given each spring in the Department of Sociology. Students taking this course (the last one conducted by Professor Herbert A. Miller at that school) were used in the experiment.

For the purpose of measuring the above mentioned effect two methods were used. The first method consisted of a test of attitudes which was given to a class at the beginning of the course and also at the end of the course. The difference between the scores obtained on the two occasions was taken as a measure of the effect. In the second method scores obtained from the successive educational classes were compared. A change in attitude scores from class to class was considered to indicate a change in attitudes as affected by education in general.

For the measuring instrument a scale devised by Hinkley was used.¹ The scale consists of sixteen statements, such as "It is possible for the white and Negro races to be brothers in Christ without becoming brothers-in-law," and "Inherently, the Negro and the white man are equal." Each statement is assigned a numerical value. These values range in the first form of the scale between 0.0 and 10.3, and in the second form of the scale between 0.5 and

* The writer wishes to express his appreciation for the co-operation of Professor Herbert A. Miller, Department of Sociology, the Ohio State University, in this study.

¹ E. D. Hinkley, *Attitude toward the Negro* (The University of Chicago Press, 1930).

10.6. Different scale values and different statements are used in the two forms of the scale, but the scores obtained from the two forms are comparable.

Form A of the scale was given to a group of about seventy students taking the course on the Negro. The blanks were distributed by Professor Miller. Instructions were to put a check mark if the student agreed with the statement, and to put a cross if he disagreed with the statement. If the student could not decide about a statement, he could mark it with a question mark. The students were also asked to fill in their names if they wanted to and to indicate what their educational status was.

Form B of the scale was given at end of the course. Instructions were similar to those used in connection with the first form of the scale.

In scoring, only the endorsed statements were taken into consideration. An individual score was the median of the scale values of statements checked *plus*. This was determined graphically by the aid of a line placed at the bottom of the scale. A vertical stroke was placed on the line at the scale value of each statement indorsed. The median was then easily read off from the line.

Group averages were calculated for both form A and form B of the scale. Of those participating in the experiment on both occasions only thirty students signed their names and thus could be identified for purposes of comparison. The averages, together with the standard errors of averages and the standard deviations of the distributions, are shown in Table I.

TABLE I

	Cases	Average Score	σ_m	σ	Dif_m	σ_d	Dif/σ_d
Before	30	7.15	.32	1.80	.58	.48	1.20
After	30	7.73	.36	2.00			

The difference between the averages is .58 and the standard error of the difference, as shown in the table, is .48. It is evident that the standard error of the difference is almost as large as the difference itself, thus indicating only a suggestive tendency of change in attitudes. The thirty students retested at the end of the course tended to appear, on the average, to be more favorable toward the Negro than when tested at the beginning of the course.

Some difference exists also between the variations of attitudes at the beginning and at the end of the course. The difference is .20 indicating that the course tended to cause a greater variety of attitudes toward the Negro. There appeared to be more extremely unfavorable and extremely favorable cases at the end of the course than there were at the beginning of the course.

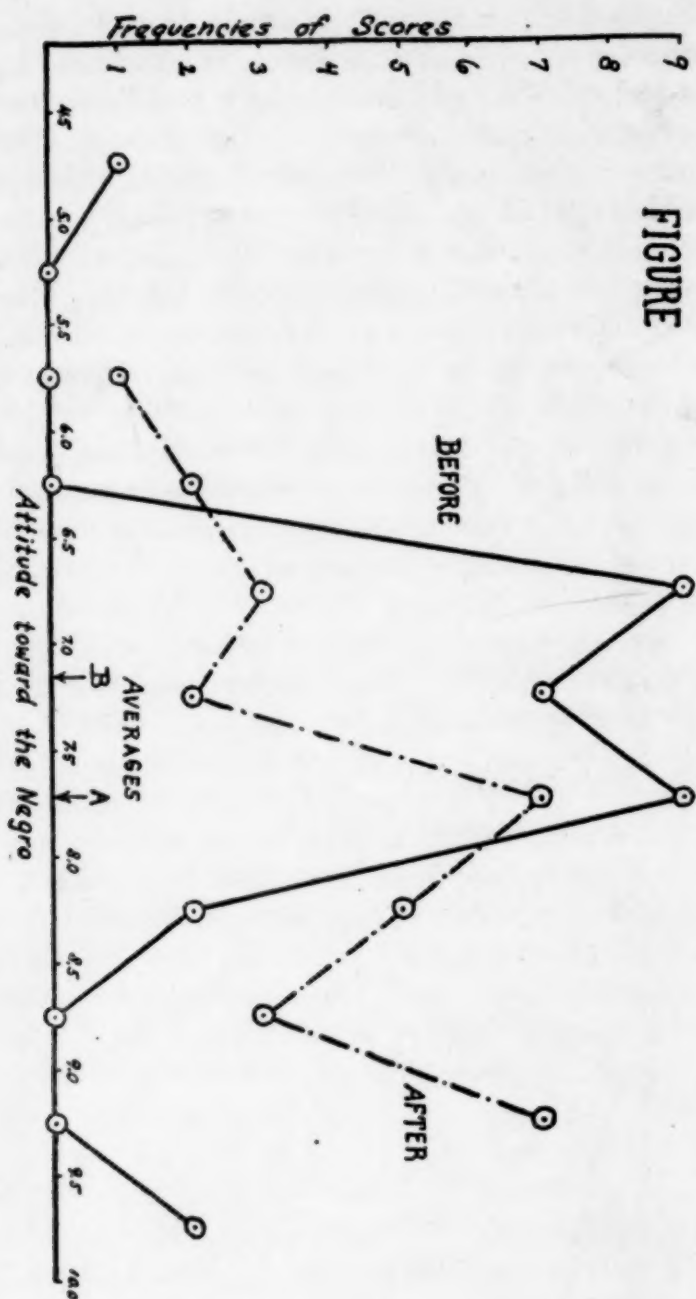
The distribution of scores before and after the course is graphically shown in the Figure. The Figure seems to portray the same tendencies already indicated with respect to changes in averages and dispersions.

In the second method used for measuring the effect of education on attitudes toward the Negro scores obtained from the successive educational classes were compared. For this purpose only form A of the scale, or scores obtained at the beginning of the course were used. Three educational groups were found in the class: juniors, seniors, and graduates. For each of these groups an average score was calculated and recorded in Table II.

TABLE II

<i>Groups</i>	<i>Cases</i>	<i>Average Score</i>	<i>σ</i>
Juniors	20	6.95	1.04
Seniors	29	7.43	1.71
Graduates	9	8.22	2.61

A distinct tendency may be noted in the table for the students to become more favorably inclined toward the Negro as they ascend the educational scale. The number



of cases is small, particularly for the graduates and this fact does not warrant any hard and fast conclusions, but the general trend is there, confirming the finding obtained by the first method of measuring attitude change. A similar tendency is noticeable with respect to the variations in attitudes. The sigmas increase considerably from one group to the other as seen in Table II. Education in general tends to produce a greater variety of attitudes, a wider range of different dispositions, or a greater number of extremely unfavorable or extremely favorable opinions about the Negro.

In the group tested seven Negro students were present. These were asked to express their attitudes toward the whites by substituting the word 'white' for the word 'Negro' in the statements. The average score of these seven students was found to be 8.45 which is higher than any group average of the whites, indicating that Negro students are more favorable toward the whites than the whites toward the Negroes.

The following conclusions can be drawn from the above findings:

1. A course on the Negro given at the Ohio State University tends to make the white students slightly more favorable toward the Negro.
2. The same course tends to make the attitudes of the white students toward the Negro somewhat more variable.
3. Education at the Ohio State University, as indicated by a change in attitudes from year to year, tends to develop favorable attitudes toward the Negro.
4. Education, as indicated by a change in attitudes from year to year, tends to cause the attitudes of the white students toward the Negro to be more variable.
5. The seven Negro students taking the course were found to be more favorable toward the whites than the white students were toward the Negro.

THE INFLUENCE OF DRAMA UPON HUMAN ATTITUDES

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A PERFORMANCE of *Spread Eagle* had a very telling effect upon my ideas of the righteousness of war. For the first time, I believe that I have been able to see just how a modern war might be manufactured on the spot for the interests of the few. And I'm quite satisfied that some wars actually may have been concocted in the very manner that this play indicated. Why, the whole thing, as its plot was unfolded before me on the stage, had a more impressive effect upon me than if I had been reading the memoirs of a batch of generals. These playwrights have actually done me a service, for I know now that I shall investigate any next war's causes before being swayed by the cries of the jingoists.

So reported a male interviewee to my query, "Has any moderns drama ever presented any material to you which was capable of aiding you in the formation of a line of action which would be different from that which you would otherwise have followed?" In other words, what I was trying to find out was whether or not the modern drama had had any perceptible influences upon the formation of human attitudes. Now, not a few sociologists use the word or term, *attitudes*, to denote that trend of conscious thought which has a tendency to lead one on to real activity, especially if the social situation seems to demand action. For a period of several years, the writer has been asking similar questions of hundreds of theatre-goers in pursuance of an investigation of the stimulations of modern dramatic presentations upon the spectators. Is it a fact that the social suggestions propelled across the footlights have any decided effect upon the behavior of the

spectators, once those spectators find themselves in similar situations in real life?

Reading many of the current reviews of plays in our magazines and newspapers would lead one to suspect that the modern critics think of the modern theatre as an establishment solely for the purpose of amusing the mentally fatigued. Visions of the ancient Greeks, wending their way to the great out-of-doors theatres, always float in upon me at such times. Surely, the great mass of theatre-goers do not leave their "intelligences" at home when they set out for the theatre! And then again, I always distinctly remember an old neighbor of ours, a woman who was such an inveterate theatre attendant that one might say she lived the greater part of her life in an orchestra seat. Now, one could tell from her behavior just what play she had seen the day before, for her actions were but imitations of those heroines she admired most. Let a *Sapho*, a *Zaza*, a *Mrs. Dane*, or a *Camille* be played before her, and for the next few days, she fancied that she and these ladies were identical. Their very affectations became hers, their sayings, hers, their manner of receiving guests, hers, their smiles and sighs, her. And all this, much to the embarrassment of her family and friends, but strong testimony to the vitality of the theatre!

Does the drama of the modern day still possess the power of conveying the message of the playwright to the spectators, and does it still have the power of influencing and innoculating them with new ideas? Bernard Shaw, Brieux, and Galsworthy evidently think so if one would judge from their plays. Indeed, Mr. Shaw once wrote:

Fine art is the subtlest, the most seductive, the most effective means of moral propagandism in the world, excepting only the example of personal conduct; and I waive even this exception in favor of the art of the stage because it works by exhibiting examples of personal

conduct made intelligible and moving to crowds of unobservant, unreflecting people to whom real life means nothing.

Perhaps it is equally true that a goodly number of dramatists have no message, but it is equally true that some have. Certainly, the work of the artist should not be deemed less artistic if he has an acknowledged functional purpose abiding in his work. Art for art's sake is a mere affectation. Is it not true that despite any inherent purpose on the part of the artist, his work may convey powerful ideas capable of swaying the actions of other people? One might say that it is this latter point upon which rests the whole question of the desirability of censorship, or that of regulation and control. That is to say, the performance of the drama may be quite capable of arousing response in the form of definite patterns of conduct in the minds of the spectators, a response which may or may not have been suspected by the author.

Curiously enough, however, we have always been on the alert for the harmful effects of the theatre on spectators, and have almost entirely overlooked the fact that the theatre may have at least as great potentialities for the delivery of constructive ideas as for those which are destructive. Therefore, we definitely give public recognition to the fact that spectators are suggestible, which means that we acknowledge more or less the power of the spoken word on the stage to release the thought mechanisms of the listeners, and to arouse ideas and motivating forces which may finally result in action. It is unfortunate, of course, that our regulation is at present conducted in a most unscientific manner. I say, unfortunate, because this regulation is not based upon any actual investigation of the power of the particular suggestions under discussion. We suffer a bare handful of persons who may have more than the usual degree of suggestibility resident within themselves to

decide what shall or shall not be presented to others. It is almost comparable to saying that because these few people have suffered an attack of indigestion after eating peanuts, that peanuts shall be denied to everyone!

Be that as it may, it is the constructive ideas that may be offered in the theatre to which we would direct the major portion of this discussion. It is the good fortune of the theatre that these ideas have always been available in the finer dramas which have sought to offer for more or less serious consideration their authors' conceptions of the problems lurking in contemporary social situations. These are the plays which will force the thinking spectators to dwell upon the criticisms of life offered to them through the performance.

In order to test the effects of the serious drama upon spectator attitudes, the writer, recently, with the enlistment of the aid of a group of university students enrolled in a course centering around the sociological analysis of the drama, interviewed two hundred play-going adults, selected without respect to age, sex, or education. The interviews were confined to the analysis of the attitudes based upon the answers to the following questions:

1. Has any modern drama hero or heroine served as a model or pattern for your behavior in any particular instance or influenced your attitudes in any way?
2. Has any modern play made you aware for the first time of some social problem in contemporary life, and if so, state the instance?
3. Has the presentation of any social problem by the dramatist created any new interest in the problem for you, and has this arousal of interest had any effect upon your activities?
4. Has any modern drama tended to lower your standards of moral conduct in any way and how?



In answer to Question No. 1, referring to the model or pattern of conduct offered by a drama hero or heroine, one hundred and thirty-five of the interviewees were convinced that no such influence had been extended to them. Eight testified that as adolescents, they had been affected in some instances for a short time. Forty-two thought that some particular qualities of the hero or heroine admired by them were imitated to some extent. Several men testified that they believed they had become more courageous in their conduct after witnessing heroics on the stage. One woman, recently chosen for jury duty, stated that she had, during her service on the jury, constantly remembered the picture of Mrs. Baldwin Livingston Crane, so well drawn by Mrs. Fiske in *Ladies of the Jury*, and that her actions were somewhat influenced by that character during the deliberations of the jury. Another woman reported that her drawing-room manners had been virtually copied from those she had seen and admired on the stage. One even confessed that the sugary *Pollyanna* had had a lasting effect upon her disposition. A man acknowledged that the character drawing of a successful business man upon the stage had hit him pretty hard, and that he saw himself for the first time as he might have been appearing to others; needless to say, the inference is that he was trying to repaint the picture. Perhaps not so strange, but a reflection upon either the plays of today or upon their presentation, the younger interviewees could point out no such striking instances as could the older theatre-goers of a generation ago! Or is it that the younger generation are less impressionistic?

Question No. 2, relating to the presentation of a social problem for the first time, brought forth a large percentage of "noes," for one hundred and seventy-eight declared that the problems of contemporary life had been revealed to

them through their own experiences or through their reading. Four of the interviewees held that the problem of racial intermixture as unfolded in the action of *All God's Chilluns Got Wings*, or in *The Shanghai Gesture* had caught their attention for the first time; six stated that *The Captive* and *Pleasure Man* had made them conscious of the particular types of sexual perversion illustrated in these plays; two reported that *The Criminal Code* and *The Last Mile* had been the means for creating for them a new understanding of the criminal's point of view. One of these in particular stated that the idea of class stratification in the Big House as shown in *The Criminal Code* was an entirely new idea for him. Two told that *Gods of the Lightning* was responsible for their investigations into the Sacco-Vanzetti case, about which they had failed to read in the newspapers. And there were four who related that they had been entirely unaware of the existence of an ignorant and illiterate mountaineer class in the United States at the present time! These had had their awakening brought about by seeing Lulu Vollmer's *Sun-up*.

Question No. 3, dealing with the extension of an interest in social conditions of the day, brought forth a more affirmative response. One hundred and two acknowledged that due to their attendance at the theatre they could actually testify to the reality of this institution's influence. Ninety-eight held that they were not interested in social conditions which did not affect them, and that they went to the theatre merely to drive dull care away. Of those who replied in the affirmative, the largest number stated that war problems had held their major interests. Nearly all these were men whose answers indicated that they were interested in the abolition of war. Sixteen stated that the problems of marriage and divorce as revealed on the stage had deepened their understanding of marital life and its

pitfalls. About the same number said that discussions of sex on the stage had supplemented their knowledge of this very human problem in one way or another. Racial questions, crime phenomena, social and political injustice, industrial problems, and religious themes were mentioned in forty other replies, indicating that the modern theatre may indulge quite at will in a discussion of almost any great social question of the day with some degree of profit for the spectator. Some of the more interesting replies to this question are reported below:

1. For me, the theatre has been in the nature of a school of learning. Since my life has been very narrowly circumscribed, and never having had any opportunities for travel, I appreciate the many interesting explorations of life which the theatre has made possible for me. It has taught me many things. I almost feel that I should have been a very different person if I had never had the opportunity of going to the theatre. The peep-show of life thus afforded me has done much to compensate for what otherwise might have been a hum-drum existence. The drawing-room comedy of manners appeals to me more than any other type of play because I admire gentility, I suppose.

2. My cynical attitude toward the brand of justice handed out by some courts has been partly formed by witnessing such plays as *Justice*, *The Silver Box*, and *The Criminal Code*. I am glad that the playwrights can criticize without being adjudged in contempt of court.

3. *What Price Glory* gave me added realization of the horror of war. It has added to my conviction that war is dead wrong, and I'm convinced that I should do my best to evade any possible next draft.

4. *Porgy* has caused me to know and understand better the Negro of the south. I can say that a new order of sympathy has been awakened in me for the Negro, and this has been further deepened by *The Green Pastures*. I believe that these dark children should receive every bit of help that it is possible to extend to them.

5. *The Dybbuk* has revealed for me a new type of Jew. I was wont to dislike the Jew, partly because of the caricature of him I had seen in vaudeville shows, and partly because of the character of Shylock in *Merchant of Venice*. But this play has resulted in my desire to know and to understand the Jewish people as a whole.

6. *The Captive* indicated to me for the first time the way that the sex pervert might actually feel. I had loathed such people but now I believe that they need sympathetic treatment and scientific help.

7. *The Hairy Ape* succeeded in presenting to me more vividly than I could otherwise have hoped for, the minds of some kinds of industrial workers. I think that the play shows that what goes on in the minds of these fellows is important for the understanding of them. It was a challenging play.

8. *The Last Mile* has done much to confirm my belief that capital punishment is murder by the state.

9. *Damaged Goods*, which I saw some years ago, presented by Mr. Richard Bennett and his co-workers, had a lasting effect upon me. As a minister, I now closely inquire into the health of those parties who come before me for the marriage ceremony. I also make it a practice to tell them something of the eugenic ideal of marriage. I can say that this play brought the whole question of venereal disease and its entailing consequences for the family before me in a very sharp manner.

Question No. 4, pertaining directly to the need for regulation and control, in that it sought to ascertain whether or not plays could debase moral character, exposed the fact that one hundred and seventy of those interviewed declared that plays had had no telling effects on their morals. Those who claimed that a lowered moral standard had been brought about were rather reticent to reveal the particular trend of the downfall experienced by them. A few of the more interesting replies received are quoted below:

1. I go to see all the plays labeled "risque" but aside from becoming more sensual for the moment, I really can't say that I have been disturbed.

2. I have come to the conclusion that because of the plays I have seen which are labeled "sexy" I accept lines of conduct that formerly I would not have tolerated. My actions are somewhat freer and looser perhaps. If that is the way some people act in smart sets, I feel that I am missing something, and so I act on the suggestions to see what the sensations are really like, that is, if opportunity comes!

3. My slang has been considerably improved and brought up to date by many of the recent plays—*The Front Page*, *Chicago*, and *Broadway*, for instance. As a consequence, I think that some people rate me as being a good deal "faster" than I really am. Sometimes, I'd like to imitate a good deal more, but I have a lot of the Puritan in me, but since most of my friends are this year's models, I act as they do; these plays help to keep me in the front line.

4. *Strange Interlude* was for me at least a real support, for I had entertained a good many morbid and forbidding thoughts, so many in fact that I was becoming alarmed. When I saw that the characters in this play were divulging some of the same kind of thoughts I had harbored, I breathed a sigh of relief and thought that maybe I wasn't as badly off as I had been led to think. And my uneasiness has disappeared.

5. One or two of the plays that I have seen have certainly put evil suggestions into me which I ultimately carried out in actuality. In fact, I might say that my conduct was inspired by that which I had seen enacted on a local stage. In *The Command to Love* I saw a sensuous love scene which I guess I must have admired, for the very next time I had a chance to make love, I found myself imagining that I was making love to the character in that play, and I carried things out as nearly as possible after the playwright's direction! Well, it is entirely probable that had I not seen that play, my own technique would have fallen far short of the technique required. And I can't say that I'm sorry for the new thrill!

Several more have felt that their actions might not have been so intense if the suggestions received across the footlights had not been quite so devastatingly interesting and penetrating. Those who answered in the affirmative seem to have acknowledged that the suggestions sent out caused them to follow some line of behavior which might not have been pursued otherwise. It is easy to assume, however, that any fall from grace by these people would have occurred regardless of the dramas; the plays may have but pointed out an easy pathway for the slide. What was particularly striking in a number of the answers was the argument that the evil conduct witnessed had brought nothing

but disgust in its wake. Thus, there is a strong indication that the showing of the most reviled things in our social life may have a tendency to elevate—an elevation through disgust!

There are few who are not desirous of knowing at least something about the vicarious experiences of human life. As well listen to a palatable dramatic exposition of life as to the cut-and-dried after-dinner speeches of the votaries of the American round-tables devised for the purpose of presenting dissections of the social and moral virtues or disabilities of the day. Has not dramatic art at all times been enlisted as an aid to the enlightenment of peoples? As Brioux has so admirably suggested, it is in the theatre that you can get at people today, and it is there that one may present some of the problems which demand social and public action. Note the use of the theatre in Russia at the present time. It is by means of the dramatic that the flankwise and disarming attack may be made, for it is this kind of suggestion which is so powerful in arousing action. The bold frontal attack of oratory often arouses contrary-mindedness. Not that any one would expect a modern audience to emerge from the theatre prepared to act, but that in the course of time, the reflection of the ideas may result in the formation of a definitely moulded attitude which will furnish the motor power for action in the real world.

Would it not be highly desirable to know something of the resultant attitudes of the theatre-goers who have been privileged to see such plays as *The Last Mile*, *The Criminal Code*, *Journey's End*, and *Five Star Final*? If the dramatist has marked himself as a specialist who is worth anything at all, he should have been able to convey some important message, provided that his message has been adequately interpreted. And have we not the right to ex-

pect as much contemplation in the theatre as we usually expect in the church, the political meeting, or in any other place where the problems of life are presented to groups?

If this were not true, should we have had an Ibsen, a Shaw, a Galsworthy, or a Pollock? The educationally constructive features of the drama are a source of vitality to the theatre. Who can see a *Sun-up*, an *In Abraham's Bosom*, a *Strange Interlude*, or *The Green Pastures* without gaining a new insight into the types of life these dramas convey? Furthermore, the drama that is real may utilize for its subjects those passionate human documents that are so full of meaning for the investigator of the mechanisms of human behavior. Ibsen, Brieux, Tchekoff, and Shaw have in a large measure succeeded in doing this very thing because they have loaded their plays with a broad and deep significance; and this has been made possible only by the fact that these authors have made subtle examinations of human action and social situations. Thus they have been able to present more or less successfully real life situations which are of immense importance for those who would know more of life and its meanings. These are the tentative conclusions that have been reached as a result of the investigations carried on thus far.

OWNER-TENANT CONTRASTS

A Study of an Arkansas County

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NO UNSELECTIVE study of farm life in Arkansas, one of the most rural of the states, has ever been published, although there are general historical comments, collections of folklore, cartoons like *A Slow Train Through Arkansas*, and picturesque treatments in popular writings.¹ For this reason, some findings of a field survey of the standards of living of 385 white farm-owner and tenant families in a foothills county, typical of perhaps a third of the state, made by the College of Agriculture of the University of Arkansas in 1924, may be of special interest.

GENERAL TRAITS AND STANDARDS

Three-fourths of the farmers and wives visited were natives of Arkansas, and half were born in the county where they were then living. The average household contained between five and six persons, and parents usually reported four living children. Both men and women as a rule had about a sixth-grade education, although eleven per cent of the men and seven per cent of the women had some high school training, and one per cent of the men had been to college. An average of 35 books to the home were counted,

¹ See David Y. Thomas, *Arkansas and Its People*; the books and articles of Charles Morrow Wilson and of Charles Joseph Finger; *Opie Reed in Arkansas*; Vance Randolph, "Folk Beliefs in the Ozark Mountains," *Journal of American Folklore*, 1927, pp. 144-209, and *The Ozarks; An American Survival of Primitive Society*. There is also an interesting bulletin entitled *Rural Life in Arkansas at Its Best*, published by Hendrix College, 1923.

with no books in only 2 per cent of the homes. The commonest source of news was the weekly paper, not more than one-tenth of the families subscribing for dailies. The organ, found in a fourth of the homes, was the most common musical instrument. Social activity took the main pattern of church-going, and in 60 per cent of the families there was no member of any other organization. Modern home conveniences were scarce: less than one per cent of the houses had running water, none had indoor toilet or bathroom, and 97 per cent were lighted by kerosene lamps. Yet one family in three owned an automobile.

The average annual value of the family living in the sample was estimated at \$1,085.25. Three-fourths of the food and over half the entire living of the families were furnished directly by the farm.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGES OF VALUE OF DIFFERENT GOODS USED PER FARM
FAMILY IN A FOOTHILLS COUNTY, ARKANSAS, 1924

<i>Goods Used</i>	<i>385 Farm Families</i> <i>(Total Value, \$1,085.25) Per Cent of Total Value</i>
Food	52.3
Clothing	12.4
Rent	10.0
Furnishings and Equipment, and Miscellaneous Operating Expenses	10.7
Health	3.9
Advancement	4.0
Miscellaneous Personal Items	2.0
Insurance (Life and Health)	1.4
Unclassified	3.3
TOTAL	100.0

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OWNERS AND TENANTS

There were no important differences between farm owners and tenants in birthplace, education, size and composition of household, or number of living children. But owners averaged nine years older than tenants, showing some movement from the status of tenant to that of owner.

Considerable inequality appeared in the incomes of the two tenure groups. Owners had an average net cash income 58 per cent greater than that of tenants, and an average total net income 37 per cent greater.

On the basis of membership in all community institutions and organizations except the church and the school the tenant family participated in social activities only half as much as did the owner family. The tenant family usually attended church and Sunday school as often as the owner family, but was a fifth weaker in church membership and contributed a third less to church support. Although neither owner nor tenant belonged to a farmers' co-operative association, the former was more likely to belong than the latter.

The living surroundings and equipment of owners were much superior to those of tenants. Owner families had houses with a fifth more rooms and porches, more shrubbery and flowers, enjoyed modern home conveniences about twice as often, took a daily paper over twice as often, and owned an automobile three times as frequently as tenants. But in such items as methods of heating, kitchen devices, and sanitary facilities, owners had little or no advantage.

For only one item, health, did tenant families equal the expenditure or consumption of owner families. Curtailment ranging from 8 to 52 per cent below the consumption of owner families marked all other goods used by tenant

families. Comparing item by item, tenant families consumed the following percentages of the value of goods consumed by owner families: Health, 107; miscellaneous personal items, 92; food, 90; clothing, 83; fuel and light, 81; social and recreational, 81; household furnishings and equipment, 80; life insurance and savings, 75; house rent, 69; church and charity, 69; advancement, 67; miscellaneous household expenses, 48; total, 85. Thus, relative to owners, the severest reductions in the budgets of tenant families were in housing, church support, education, and incidentals; and the least reduction in personal items and food.

In the matter of self-sufficiency, or the proportion of the living furnished by the farm, tenant and owner families were about equal.

On the whole, therefore, it may be said that these owner and tenant families were drawn from the same population, but that owners had a third more net cash income and a standard of consumption higher by nearly a fifth, enjoyed living surroundings and home equipment at least one-half better, and participated at least two-fifths more in the activities and support of community organizations. The typical tenant family was sacrificing the aesthetic, religious, social, and intellectual aspects of life in the effort to supply physical necessities.

SOME UNDERLYING FACTORS

By the method of multiple correlation, the combined influence of three factors, net cash income, distance from town, and education of farmers and their wives, was found to be capable of accounting for 28 per cent of the variations in the total value of the family living. The factor of age of the farm couples contributed nothing to the relationship.

TABLE II²

MULTIPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATION RATIOS BETWEEN THE TOTAL STANDARD OF LIVING (TOTAL EXPENDITURES PLUS VALUE GOODS FURNISHED) (X_1), AND AGE OF OPERATORS AND WIVES (X_2), NET CASH INCOME (X_3), MILES FROM VILLAGE (X_4), AND EDUCATION OF OPERATORS AND WIVES (X_5)

Subscripts	<i>eta</i>	<i>eta</i> squared	Subscripts	<i>eta</i>	<i>eta</i> squared
1.2345	.53	.28	13.245	.46	.21
1.345	.53	.28	14.235	.32	.10
12.345	0	0	15.234	.28	.08

When age, distance out, and education were held constant by partial correlation, it appeared that net cash income might explain 21 per cent of the differences in family standards of living. Likewise, with age, income, and education constant, distance from town proved able to account for 10 per cent of the inequalities. Finally, removal of the effects of income, age, and distance from town showed that 8 per cent of the dissimilarities might have been due to the education of the farmers and their wives.

Accordingly, of the four factors, net cash income, age of operators and wives, distance from town, and education of

² In trying to measure the amount of relationship between the standard of living and other factors by statistical correlation, it was found that nearly all dependent variables had extremely skewed distributions. The correlation coefficient or ratio calculated for these series would not represent a true central tendency of the relationships holding throughout the range of the variables, but would be merely a lump average of these relationships which might not resemble any actual or prevailing relationship. On the other hand, since a coefficient or ratio obtained under such conditions does measure the average net relationship, it seems valid for comparison with other coefficients and ratios involving the same dependent variable, the purpose being only to show the net or relative amount of relationship between a given dependent variable and each of several independent variables. Also, it is believed that such coefficients or ratios may correctly be compared with those for any other dependent variables, so long as it is remembered that they are merely net but probably not typical relationships.

Non-linearity of regressions made it necessary above to use the correlation ratio, *eta*, instead of the coefficient, *r*.

For the meaning of *eta* squared, the ratio of determination, see Ezekiel, *Methods of Correlation Analysis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1930), chap. 4.

operators and wives, it seems that net cash income ranked first in its possible effects on the standard of living, distance out ranked second, and education third. The factor of age alone had no direct influence, but was significant as a probable cause of changes in income and in needs. It is also obvious that most of the variations in the farm standard of living remained unaccounted for.

INTERMARRIAGE IN HAWAII

A Case Study

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ALTHOUGH considerable attention has been devoted by sociologists to intermarriage, there has been very little research with regard to its *social consequences*. In other words, the specifically *human* side of miscegenation has not been as well explored as its biological or statistical side. For example, we do not have sufficient knowledge about (1) the kind of persons that intermarry; (2) the factors determining marriage choices; (3) the racial trend in intermarriage; and (4) the achievements of hybrids and their progeny.

This paper does not attempt to answer these questions in general. It aims merely to answer them with regard to a single family of mixed racial origin, whose genealogy and fortunes have been traced through the six generations, ending only with the present time.

I

WHAT KIND OF PERSONS INTERMARRY?

This particular family is the result of the union of an adventurous English sea captain with a beautiful pure Hawaiian (chiefess) in the early part of the nineteenth century. The captain, who was quite sagacious in military affairs, was later knighted by the Hawaiian monarch, awarded an exalted social status, and entrusted with a position of highest military importance. Of the six children from this union, four married Hawaiian chiefs and chief-

esses and two married Caucasians, one of whom was a New Englander who became a sugar planter in Hawaii, the other coming from a good family in New York. Five of these six children founded more or less lengthy family branches. Let us now see what kind of persons married into each of these family lines.

One girl in the first branch married a prominent business man of Honolulu, another married the manager of a certain pineapple cannery, and her sister married a lieutenant of the United States Navy. The founder of this branch himself married a high chiefess whose chiefly status elevated the rank of his family and posterity. Other members of the family married respectively a deputy tax assessor, an engineer, an electrician, a clerk, and a policeman.

We find members of the second branch marrying such persons as business executives, professionals, and army and navy officials. This second branch, it happens, can boast of the most prominent, colorful, and fascinating marriage in the family or "clan," a marriage which furnished plentiful romantic material for one of Jack London's short stories, which may be found in the volume entitled *The House of Pride*. One three-fourths-Caucasian-and-one-fourth-Hawaiian granddaughter of the original parents fell in love with an enterprising Chinese immigrant who later became a merchant prince, and raised a brood of sixteen exotic children, thirteen of whom happened to be charming girls. The family lived in a palatial mansion dominated by the firm mind of the patriarchal yet individualistic Oriental. Added to the interracial charms of the girls was a liberal dowry for each, with the result that this unique home became a "social rendezvous" for visiting army and navy officers and other distinguished travelers, among whom were found fitting husbands for all the girls.

In Hawaii not much can be learned about the third family branch because it soon removed to the mainland, but we glean that its members married respectively an engineer, a school teacher, and a sugar boiler on a certain Hawaiian sugar plantation.

The fourth and fifth branches can be considered together because neither is very long nor distinguished. The persons marrying into these two branches include a deputy auditor, an assistant paymaster, a fireman, a clerk, and a police officer.

II

WHAT ARE THE FACTORS DETERMINING MARRIAGE CHOICES?

These factors may be listed as cultural isolation, romance, and propinquity. Cultural isolation, developed by the cherishing and the worship of family traditions and expressed in family poems, chants and legends, family heirlooms, appellations, and occupations, strongly tends to maintain the racial solidarity of the family branch. In this study we notice that the sub-families that have religiously preserved their traditions have with few exceptions been those with more Hawaiian blood in their veins and those Chinese-Hawaiian hybrids who have identified themselves with the Hawaiians.

Romance and propinquity, on the contrary, tend to break down racial solidarity. A good example of romantic love is furnished by the original parents. The first meeting was a chance incident. While the captain and a friend were strolling along the countryside, they encountered two beautiful Hawaiian girls fleeing in terror from a cow. By driving away the animal, the two Englishmen won the admiration of the girls. The ensuing romance culminated in the marriage of both couples. A good example of propin-

quity is furnished by the third family branch, which became distinctly Caucasian in race and American in culture after it had removed to the mainland. Another example of propinquity is furnished by the Chinese merchant prince's eldest son, who was sent to China by his father to be brought up in the ways of his fatherland. This son and his children all married Chinese and became thoroughly domiciled in China.

Incidentally, it may be said that the social, political, and economic changes in Hawaii have naturally made romantic love and propinquity quite dominant factors in marriage choices today. Such inevitable changes in a dynamic or mobile society have played a vital part in undermining family traditions and in breaking down any cultural isolation that might have been created to hold together a family or a racial group.

III

WHAT IS THE RACIAL TREND IN INTERMARRIAGE?

An analysis of the marriages in the six family branches of the family reveals three racial trends. One trend appears to be toward the maternal racial group—the Hawaiian, and another toward the paternal racial group—the Caucasian. Between these two pure parent groups we have the mixed marriage trend, the Caucasian-Hawaiian. The middle trend, however, tends in some instances to become more racially complicated and complex as we go further into the generations.

A chart has been arranged according to these trends—the branches with an Hawaiian marriage trend toward the left and the branches with a Caucasian marriage trend toward the right. Between these two extremes we have the Caucasian-Hawaiian group which becomes whiter as

it moves toward the right. [Space does not permit the publication of this chart.—EDITORIAL NOTE.]

The second or third marital union of any given individual is treated as a distinct marriage in this study. This method is necessary because so many of these second or third marriages are not with a member of the same race as the first. There is certainly a marked difference, for example, between the first marriage of an individual with an Hawaiian and his second marriage with a Caucasian.

The Caucasian trend is represented by two family lines, namely, the second and the third. Out of forty-six marriages recorded for the second line, thirty-seven are with Caucasians. In other words, about 80 per cent of the marriages in this family line are white. Five of the remaining marriages are with Chinese and four with Caucasian-Hawaiians. This is significant when we consider that over half of the thirty-seven marriages are from the single family of the Chinese merchant prince, whose children and grandchildren have running through their veins the blood of three races—Chinese, Caucasian, and Hawaiian. The third line, as stated above, removed to the mainland, where all its recorded marriages are Caucasian.

The Caucasian-Hawaiian trend is represented by two family lines also—the first and the fourth. Of the twenty-nine marriages recorded for the first line, fifteen are with Caucasian-Hawaiians, six with pure Hawaiians, six with Caucasians, and two with Japanese. These figures include second and third marriages. The fourth line, being comparatively young, yields so little data that any definite trend is difficult to predict, but of the three marriages recorded, two are with Caucasian-Hawaiians.

The Hawaiian trend is represented by the fifth family line. Of the thirteen marriages recorded for this line, seven are with pure Hawaiians, three with Caucasian-Hawai-

ians, one with a Chinese-Hawaiian, and two with Caucasians. One of these Caucasians was English-Portuguese. Thus we have more marriages with Hawaiians and Hawaiian mixtures than with other racial groups.

Summarizing the recorded marriages for all six family lines, we have a total of ninety-five marriages. Of these, forty-nine are with Caucasians, twenty-four with Caucasian-Hawaiians, fourteen with pure Hawaiians, five with Chinese, two with Japanese, and one with a Chinese-Hawaiian. There are more members of the immigrant (non-Hawaiian) group than of the hybrid group, and more members of this hybrid group than of the native (Hawaiian) group.

IV

WHAT ARE THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE HYBRIDS AND THEIR PROGENY

The question often arises as to the ability of hybrids compared with members of pure races. Although no standard and measuring rod have been devised to test this human trait, we may temporarily use occupational achievement in regard to the hybrids of this particular study.

We find among the original hybrid members of the first family branch (Caucasian-Hawaiian trend) a royal governor, a governor's aide, a sugar planter, a rancher, a director of a steamship company, an army captain, a wealthy insurance agent, a sheriff, an engineer, and a custodian of the Royal Mausoleum. But not all of the offspring of this family line distinguished themselves. Some of them occupied positions of lower level, if we consider inferior those activities which do not require great skill or much mental exertion. For example, we have a taxi-driver, a policeman, and a warehouse worker. The majority of the working members of this family branch, however, are engaged

in occupations which we would consider today as of a medium level, such as clerk, bank-teller, draftsman, and elementary teacher.

In the second family branch (Caucasian trend) there are two distinct family groups with contrasting interests, as shown in their choice of occupation—one family finding its vocation in the intellectual world, the other in business. For example, we have writers, professors, teachers, a school principal, a social worker, a newspaper reporter, a governor, a general, an attorney, a plantation owner, and executives in business firms. Both families were successful in their pursuits.

In the third branch (also Caucasian trend) we find an overseer and a water inspector on a certain sugar plantation. One of them has established himself in the poultry business on the west coast of the mainland. We may say that this branch has been absorbed culturally and biologically into the rank and file of American population.

The fourth and fifth family branches (Hawaiian trend) show us chiefly music teachers and musicians, besides a sea captain, a carpenter, a nurse, and an inspector of school buildings who was previously a "supervisor," a senator, and a representative of Honolulu.

The range and variety of callings pursued by these hybrids seem to indicate that hybrids are even as other men so far as this particular "clan" is concerned. Certainly they do not show up as inferior. But we must here remember that the original parents of this large racially mixed family were of high social rank, which would naturally favor their hybrid posterity with ample opportunity for economic and professional success.

In conclusion, it may be remarked that this genealogical study is exploratory merely—a search for facts that would throw light on the conditions under which race mixture

takes place and on the racial future of mixed people. An extensive study of similar racially mixed families would be necessary to arrive at any generalizations with regard to miscegenation. This investigation, however, does enable one to form hypotheses which future studies might check up and test. Thus in a wider comparative study it would be important to note (1) how effective are family traditions as a force in maintaining the integrity of the family in a racially mixed group such as the one in this study; (2) how important are the factors of romantic love and propinquity in breaking down the racial solidarity of such a group; and (3) how generally does an intermarriage issue in three distinct racial trends—namely, one trend toward the maternal blood group, another toward the paternal, and the third toward the hybrid or racially mixed class. Such a study would give us some knowledge of the sociological consequences of race mixture.

SOCIAL DISTANCE BETWEEN CATHOLICS, JEWS, AND PROTESTANTS

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RELIGIOUS distance¹ is the degree of sympathetic understanding that exists between people of various religious beliefs and practices. In this investigation it is distance between groups of persons.² In this instance, the groups are often referred to as the three leading religious bodies in the Western world, namely, Catholic, Jews, and Protestants.³

In particular this study is a report of round table discussions in which Catholics, Jews, and Protestants participated freely.⁴ It was the more broad-minded representatives of the respective religions who came together. As a result (a) the discussion problem was greatly simplified, (b) the differences that exist between conservatives in each of the three religions were avoided, and (c) the wide intra-religious differences within each of the three religions were eliminated.

The discussion participants were not only all broad-minded exponents of their respective religious faiths, but they were willing to compare notes, to put away or sub-

¹ A phase of social distance.

² Social distance has three forms: (1) personal, or between persons; (2) group, or between groups; and (3) personal-group, or between a person and his group. This paper deals with the second type.

³ It may be conceived that a discussion of religious distance between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants will throw light on social distance between other religious groups.

⁴ Held at University of Southern California early in 1932, with the present writer as discussion group leader, in conjunction with other discussion groups, and all under the auspices of the National Conference of Jews and Christians (director, Everett R. Clinchy).

merge any remaining prejudices, and to seek to understand better the viewpoints of the spokesmen of the other religions. Moreover, all were considerate of the standpoints and even the feelings of the others. Further, each encouraged the others to frankness. Freedom in expressing personal religious beliefs and practices prevailed.

No argumentative spirit expressed itself. No one attempted to convince anyone else. No one insinuated that his own religion was superior to that of the others. No one expected anyone else to change his religious views. Each remained unusually objective with reference not simply to the religions other than his own, but also, difficult as it might be, to his own religion. No one defended his own beliefs, but allowed them to speak for themselves. There was no attempt to cover up the weaknesses of one's own religion. No spirit of proselyting arose to mar the discussions. The whole mental effort was directed toward obtaining a true and complete picture of the beliefs and practices of broad-minded Catholics, Jews, and Protestants, and toward measuring the differences between the three religions.

Since no "stand-pat" representatives, no bigots, no one-track religious minds were present, the discussions were not side-tracked, hindered, or wrecked. No defense mechanisms were touched off; no acrimony was aroused; no "feelings" flared up.

The religious distances that were discussed, therefore, are those that exist between liberal Catholics, reformed Jews, and modernist Protestants. It is obvious that the problems of religious distance were attacked at their most vulnerable spot. It was thought that as progress is made at this point, a technique may be formed for discussing the more resistant forms of religious distance, such as the distances between liberal and fundamentalist in each religion,

or between other religions, such as Christianity and Mohammedanism.

It should also be noted that this discussion relates to religious distance in the United States—not in Europe. This report is being written in London, after journeys have been made to Ireland and Italy, particularly Rome, where the distances between Catholics and Protestants are much greater and more deep-seated than in the United States; and after a journey through Germany where antagonistic feelings between Jews and non-Jews are being fanned to flames by Hitlerites and others. One university professor stated to the writer that in his country it would be impossible to hold an open discussion of social distances between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants. He was even greatly surprised that it was possible to hold such a discussion in the United States.

I

The first major question tackled was: What are the ideas and practices held or done in common by Catholics, Jews, and Protestants? It was relatively easy, even pleasant, to discuss matters of common agreement. This sub-topic was ideal for securing mental release all around. It broke the ice. It changed formality into informality, and laid excellent foundations for the discussion of more difficult points. It cut down social distance.

It was the consensus of opinion of the discussion group that *no distance* exists between liberal Catholics, Jews, and Protestants on the following propositions:

- (a) That there are worthy and unworthy representatives of religion in all three groups.
- (b) That all three groups believe in the primacy of religion and of a spiritual life.
- (c) That each group believes in God.

(d) That each believes that ethical elements are essential in religion.

(e) That each believes in the Golden Rule of doing unto others as he would be done by.

(f) That each believes in the capacity of human nature to grow and develop religiously.

(g) That each believes in the necessity of worship.

(h) That each recognizes the need for programs of religious education.

(i) That each believes in the general sacredness of human life.

(j) That all have social service programs and emphasize such factors as economic justice,⁵ racial tolerance, and world peace.

Upon these ten planks, liberal-minded Catholics, Jews, and Protestants can stand together. If these ten common points are probably indicative of the existence of others also, then it may be concluded that there are substantial and fundamental ways in which religious distance has already been overcome. There is no valid reason why an interreligion movement might not long survive but also thrive; moreover, each religion might accomplish much more for the cause of religion and of humanity than it is doing now.

II

The next important question considered was: What are the main divisive factors that separate liberal-minded Catholics, Jews, and Protestants? Some of these factors that were unanimously agreed upon were as follows:

⁵A recent comparative study made by Professor George B. Mangold of the Department of Sociology, University of Southern California, of the "programs" of the National Catholic Welfare Council, Union of Hebrew Congregations, and the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, shows that all three programs are practically identical in a number of important items, such as, the abolition of child labor, legislative provisions for old age (of workers), the right of labor to organize (along with the right of capital also), and a living wage.

(a) Differences in church organizations, doctrines, and forms of worship. These are especially significant because they are usually deeply ingrained (or conditioned) in childhood.

(b) Differences in church traditions, which often maintain their force through group pressure, such as appeals to loyalty (or by the use of negative epithets, e.g., heretic, deserter).

(c) Historical clashes between these religious groups (e.g., Catholic versus Protestant, or Jew versus Christian), which have left deep-seated and sensitive if not sore spots.

(d) The belief of each group that it is the most important religious expression of religion in the world (or the failure of each to recognize that each is an evolutionary product and that a new expression may yet be attained superior to anything now dominant).

(e) The tendency of each group to generalize more on unfavorable reports about the other groups than on favorable reports.

(f) The belief that each group is competing for status, or for numbers, or both, with the other groups (including the fear that proselyting is going on openly or insidiously, e.g., that children in home, school, or elsewhere are being led or forced "astray."⁶

(g) The ways in which racial prejudices tend to augment religious differences.

(h) The ways in which social, political, and occupational discriminations augment religious differences.

These and other points contain serious obstacles to the development of religious nearness. They offset religious nearness. Since these differences receive much more attention than religious similarities, they are effective out of all

⁶The Jews are the least subject to this proselyting factor, for they have kept to their own groups in their religious teachings, although their religion has been a strong defense mechanism against the general encroachments of the Christian world.

proportion to their real merit. Since they are held by the less broad-minded in each religious group, they are doubly difficult to eradicate. They appeal to fear, to a possible loss of security and status, to needs of defense, while religious similarities rest on a more passive intelligence. The factors creating distance are more dynamic and more on the *qui vive* than those representing nearness.

III

A third question considered was: What factors are operating today to diminish religious distance and to promote nearness between Catholics, Jews, and Protestants? Unanimity of judgment was reached to the effect that these ends are being attained in the following ways:

(a) Through personal friendships between members of the different religious groups.

(b) Through the study of the culture history of each religious group by members of the other groups.

(c) Through university interrelations and mutual student co-operation of the three groups.

(d) Through working together in social reconstructive work, for example, in world peace movements, in prison reform activities, in community welfare drives, in parent-teachers associations, and in cosmopolitan clubs.

(e) Through exchange fellowships for students and exchange professorships.

(f) Through constructive and wholesome industrial and business contacts.

(g) Through common participation in sports.

(h) Through constructive adult education in schools, forums, and broadcasting.

(i) Through maintenance and development of inter-religion discussion groups.

This list of constructive factors, when taken as a whole, constitutes a promising array. It is evident that more effort, joint effort, put in along these lines of activity which are already functioning and which have demonstrated their feasibility, would go far to cut down needless and harmful religious distance. As long as fields of effort so promising are open and only partially tilled the possibilities of shortening religious distance are worthy of attention.⁷

⁷An interesting question was raised at our discussion group sessions concerning the advisability of intermarriage of Catholics, Jews, and Protestants. No agreement was reached. It appears, however, that when religious attitudes of either party are deep-seated and markedly different from those of the other party, intermarriage is inadvisable, for problems arise that are exceedingly difficult to meet.

Book Notes

THE WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE PUBLICATIONS (New York, Century Company, 1932) continue to be augmented. In addition to those mentioned in previous issues, the following have come to our attention:

Parent Education (pp. xviii+354), deals largely with programs and methods. Among the programs presented are national, state, university, and church programs. Since about two dozen programs are presented in approximately 130 pages the amount of space given to each is comparatively small. The presentation of the California plan is very inadequate and unsatisfactory.

Methods are discussed under such heads as Group Teaching, Individual Teaching, Directed Observation of Children, Nursery Schools, and Visual Instruction. Here again it appears that economy of space was necessary. However, many valuable devices are suggested and the book will be helpful to individuals working in the field of parent education. A final section of the report deals with the subject of "Parent Educators." This section is interested in the selection and education of leaders and presents standards and qualifications for leadership.

Growth and Development of the Child. PART III. NUTRITION (pp. xx+532), is one of four volumes to be published on the general subject, as indicated in the title. Nutrition is one phase only of the problem involved. In presenting this problem the writers have addressed themselves to professional rather than to lay people and therefore much of the material can be assimilated only by the former class.

The treatment of Nutrition is quite comprehensive and indicates careful and painstaking work on the part of the collaborators. Every phase of the nutrition requirements of children is discussed. The proteins, fats, vitamins, minerals, iodine, and water are given appropriate attention. The energy requirements of children are presented, the values of cooking are indicated and the use of certain foods and drinks discussed. A brief reference is made to psychological factors in nutrition. This is a decidedly worth-while volume.

The Delinquent Child, a third book (pp. xx+499), consists largely of the deeper problems involved in juvenile delinquency. It recognizes that we have confined our previous studies in the main to apprehended delinquency and not to misconduct. The child is handled in relation to himself, to his family, to the school, to the church, to industry, and to the community. The underlying causes of delinquency are thoroughly analyzed and their interrelations set forth.

The report indicates that 200,000 children appear in the juvenile courts of the country each year and that this figure represents but a fraction of the juvenile maladjustment that actually exists. The aim and purpose of the juvenile court are ably presented and the new view that must dominate the court if it is to succeed receives intelligent treatment. An appendix of approximately one hundred pages adds material of great value. Accordingly the book will have an important place in the literature on juvenile delinquency.

The first part of *Communicable Disease Control* (pp. xv+243) deals with disease and deaths among children. It also gives the findings of several sickness surveys and analyzes the trends indicated by these studies. The greater part of the volume is devoted to "Procedures Recommended for the Control of Individual Diseases" which has value particularly for the professional reader, but is so simply presented that a large proportion of the laity would nevertheless understand it. The recommendations respecting the control of disease deal largely with details of organization rather than with community control.

G. B. M.

THE CHILD AND PLAY. By JAMES EDWARD ROGERS. The Century Company, New York, 1932, pp. viii+205.

This illuminating treatment of why children play, their play in and outside the home and in school, municipal recreation, leadership in play, and related topics is based on the reports of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. The author, who is Director of National Educational Service of the National Recreation Association, also utilized the wealth of material on children's play available at the association's headquarters. Play is a serious business of childhood. Those charged with the responsibility of caring for children will find this volume an important aid in understanding the relationship of play to the welfare of the child.

M. H. N.

AMERICAN FAMILY LAWS. By CHESTER G. VERNIER. Stanford University Press, 1931, Vol. I, pp. xxi+321.

In this book the author has made "an effort to present in comparative form a portion of the family law of the forty-eight states." He has attempted wherever possible to "make a brief summary of the common law; state the statutory law ; add such comment and criticism as seems pertinent, and collect under each head a selected list of references." Among the important items in our marriage laws are the following: contract to marry, license, common law marriage, age of marriage, prohibited marriages, annulment, dissolution of marriage and remarriage. The book includes a list of 26 tables and cites more than 150 cases. An additional list of reference is appended to each chapter.

G. B. M.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ACHIEVEMENT. By WALTER B. PITKIN. Simon and Schuster, New York, 1931, pp. xi+502.

The author, a well-known journalist, writes in sprightly, popular style concerning those personality traits which he believes contribute most to success in the broad sense of the term. He starts from a psychological background and a common sense viewpoint and in clever phrases maps out the road to achievement. He puts "energy" and "interest" foremost, supporting these by "emotions" and "intelligence." He presents a unique personality chart upon which he depicts the personalities of "the average man," Goethe, Beethoven, "Abe and Bill." Many are the sharp thrusts at modern life, such as the reference to the bureaucratic rigmarole and undergraduate monkey-shines of the typical American college." The subjective treatment is perhaps the book's chief weakness.

E. S. B.

ST. FRANCIS OF ASSISI. By ABEL BONNARD. Longmans, Green and Company, New York, 1931, pp. v+157.

With poetic skill, the author has depicted an engaging St. Francis. The biography is presented in three phases: (1) the attack of a great man upon society; (2) the counter-attack of society upon him; (3) the discovery that he is self-sufficient. The second part of this character sketch is devoted to the different rôles that the subject displayed. Interesting descriptions are given of personality types as found in the subject: the Poet, the Prince, the Saint. The product is a Bonnard St. Francis with a great deal of the mystic leading the way.

E. S. B.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL PROBLEMS. By HAROLD A. PHELPS.
Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, pp. xi+783.

Refreshingly new in its treatment of social problems, Dr. Phelps' book should be welcomed by teachers of elementary applied sociology. The most distinctive contribution is the analysis of the various social problems in their several aspects, physical, mental, economic, and cultural. In this way, the problems may be viewed in their whole environmental setting. Thus poverty as a social problem is discovered with its roots extending into the very heart of a complex social pattern. The author sees social problems as abnormalities in social relationships. The material is in some instances wisely furnished with illustrative case documents. More of this would have been better. As it is, the book is superior to most of its predecessors in the field.

M. J. V.

THE PROBLEMS OF CRIME. By CLAYTON J. ETTINGER, M.D.,
Ph.D. Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York,
1932, pp. viii+538.

The very liberal use of recent sociological research findings in this volume is of particular interest since the author is a psychiatrist. Unfortunately, in line with the thought-habits and occupational attitudes of his fellow psychiatrists, he regards psychology, sociology, and other social sciences as handmaidens rather than as colleagues of psychiatry. The rather uncritical use of data regarding the prevalence of mental defects and mental disease among prisoners, and the failure to appreciate fully the scientific significance of much of the work of Burgess, Shaw and Thrasher (though considerable material is presented from these and other sociologists) are also to be attributed to the same occupational attitude. Much interesting material is presented and the style is easy and readable. It is well developed for text-book use.

SOZIOLOGIE VON HEUTE. Edited by RICHARD THURNWALD.
C. L. Hirschfeld, Verlag, Leipzig, 1932, pp. viii+138.

This volume contains reprints of a series of articles first published in *Der Zeitschrift fuer Voelkerpsychologie und Soziologie*. It contains contribution from the writings of Walther, Freyer, Plenge, Sorokin, Ginsberg, Ogburn, MacIver, Steinmetz, Toennies and Thurnwald. As a whole, it presents no unified approach to sociology but gives a good cross-section of present day interests and tendencies particularly in Germany.

E.F.Y.

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND SOCIAL PLANNING. The Guidance of Social Change. By CECIL C. NORTH. McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1932, pp. x+409.

This immensely practical volume might have been labelled *Applied Sociology*, or *An Introduction to Sociology*, or even *The Socialization Process*. After presenting orientation chapters on culture and cultural changes the author plunges into a round of questions, such as, the population problem, the economic problem, the international problem, the race problem, the family problem, the social control problem, the moral and religious problems. In each discussion he suggests steps for improvement. The volume concludes with "Goals of Social Reconstruction" which are: (1) a planned social order (social teleosis, according to Ward), (2) a more nearly rational society (which assumes that we already have a fairly rational society—a doubtful matter), (3) a co-operative society, (4) a free society (not absence of restraint, but enlarged opportunity for self-realization), and (5) a democratic society, wherein "the common welfare is maintained above the egoistic impulses" (a needed but large order in these days). The style of the book is lucid; the thought, constructive.

THE MEXICAN IMMIGRANT. His Life-Story. By MANUEL GAMIO. University of Chicago Press, 1931, pp. xiii+288.

In the "Introduction" by Robert Redfield, it is explained that while the materials were obtained by the interview method, they are not life history data in the full sense of the term. Dr. Redfield has arranged the documentary materials under a number of interesting and significant headings, such as: The Mexican Leaves Home, First Contacts, The Economic Adjustment, Conflict and Race-Consciousness, The Leader and the Intellectual, and Assimilation. While there is considerable unevenness in the value of the documents, each one throws some new light on the Mexican immigrant's experiences and responses in the United States. Dr. Gamio has rendered a useful service in helping to reveal how an important group of immigrants have made headway or have failed in the United States, due in the latter case all too often to the superiority attitudes of Americans in the United States and to their carelessness in their treatment of Mexican labor. The book is full of data showing great social distance between Mexican immigrants and the people of our country.

E. S. B.

SLUMS AND LARGE-SCALE HOUSING AND DECENTRALIZATION. The President's Conference on Home-Building and Home Ownership, 1932, pp. xviii+244.

This number is one of seven volumes to be prepared under the direction of the Conference. Chapter I deals with the subject, "Blighted Areas and Slums." It describes these and then suggests a number of plans for their elimination and reconstruction. After discussing large scale operations carried on by private enterprise, the Committee concludes that such large-scale projects should at the present time be financed by private capital. It adds that "the problem of supplying decent housing for the lower wage groups will be achieved by reducing costs of business enterprise with government helps." On the other hand, the Committee is unanimously opposed to the construction of homes with public funds.

The book discusses economic factors underlying housing and gives some attention to the limited dividend corporation. Under certain conditions this plan of procuring better housing is favored. Some study was also made of industrial decentralization and its relation to housing. The Committee recognizes the difficulties in the way, but suggested that decentralization of industry and consequently of housing be facilitated and as far as possible the disadvantages which now favor centralization be removed.

G. B. M.

MODERN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL. By C. DELISLE BURNS. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. xi+324.

This is a stimulating criticism and appreciation of modern civilization as compared with that of primitive peoples, or as one might contrast several contemporary civilizations of America, Asia, and Europe. Changes in industrialization, education, science and art, government, and so forth, are presented with exceptional definition and evaluation.

J. E. N.

NATIONALISM IN MODERN FINLAND. By JOHN H. WUORINEN. Columbia University Press, New York, 1931, pp. x+302.

In this book the growth of nationalism in Finland is traced from the separation from Sweden in 1809 to the present. Cultural unity due to linguistic grouping, education, labor, and other aspects of social change with influence on nationalism, and significant leadership, are presented for successive periods of about twenty years each.

J. E. N.

THE PROBLEM OF UNEMPLOYMENT. By PAUL H. DOUGLAS and AARON DIRECTOR. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. xix+505.

Comprehensive and scholarly are terms befitting this volume. The authors have analyzed an immense amount of material, covering a "hundred different industries" and "the experiences of all other countries." The 38 chapters are grouped under significant headings, such as: Extent and costs of unemployment, seasonal unemployment, cyclical unemployment, labor placement, and unemployment insurance. Altogether these chapters place vital data and interpretations in the hands of all persons seriously desirous of solving unemployment problems.

The chapters on unemployment insurance are especially valuable for they deal with a controversial question concerning which most persons are either uninformed or ill-informed. The authors propose a plan which would include all manual workers in industries other than agriculture, which would be contributed to jointly by workers and employers, which would distribute the premium rates among industries according to the relative amount of unemployment characteristic of each, and which would provide either general or vocational training for all workers during periods when they are receiving benefits. Altogether the volume is exceedingly timely and practical.

E. S. B.

THE GREAT CRUSADE AND AFTER. By PRESTON W. SLOSSON. The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xviii+486.

This is one of the volumes in the series entitled, "A History of American Life." It begins with a brief account of America just before it entered the Great War, follows this with a chapter on the War and then plunges into our later history. Prohibition, woman suffrage, prosperity, sport, education, and scientific advance are each discussed in turn. In "The Mind of a Nation" are indicated some of the recent developments in art, drama, verse, fiction, and literary publications. It recites briefly the struggle between Liberals and Fundamentalists and tells of the changes that are occurring in the American home. The chapter ends with a summary of gains and losses. The writer says, "Morally it would be hard to say whether the American was better or worse for the war and the national expansion of the postwar decade."

G. B. M.

A PLANNED SOCIETY. By GEORGE SOULE. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. 295.

The idea of a telic society is not new. Social scientists for several generations, presuming that the creature called man is intelligent, have taken more or less delight in pointing out marked paths for improvement in the art of living together. The beginning of their task has generally been to criticize the prevailing chaotic social conditions. George Soule does likewise. But after reading his criticism of our most recent fall from grace, one is inclined to believe that only a full share of optimism urged him to complete his advocacy of a planned society by a people who have already demonstrated that they are generally incapable of foreseeing; and what is worse, that these same people have so far shown their infantile gullibility to be of such a magnitude that they have been led into every conceivable blunder by misleaders of their own choice. However, it may be that a majority of these are merely in a state of stupor, and that the thundering voice of the prophet will finally arouse them. If there be any possible last chance, let us have a planned society. It is true that there are grounds for belief, states Mr. Soule, in the ideas that the average citizen is not intelligent enough to understand the vast complexity of the problems confronting him, and therefore is unable to cope with them, that government is run by a set of professionals who conduct the business for self-interest and profit, that the efforts to defeat machine control of politics are more or less futile, and that cynicism over politics as an instrument of popular will is growing. Nevertheless, Mr. Soule's idea of planning for society will probably serve to ignite the dying spark. At any rate, his is built upon encouraging premises—"a war against poverty, unemployment, insecurity; an expansion of the standard of living, a great national effort toward a finer civilization, a desire to do a good job and use properly the tools we have." These are enough to provoke enthusiasm.

M. J. V.

THE CAUSES OF WAR. Edited by ARTHUR PORRITT. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xxix+235.

Economic, industrial, racial, religious, scientific, and political causes of war are presented in thirteen chapters by thirteen notable writers of international reputation, who report for the various sections of Commission I. of the World Conference for International Peace Through Religion.

J. E. N.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY: THE FAMILY-FARM INSTITUTION.

By ROY HINMAN HOLMES. The McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1932, pp. xxi+416.

This is not just another book on the sociology of rural life. It has a number of unique features. The author approaches the subject from a strictly sociological rather than an economic or geographical point of view, using the family-farm unit as the basis of study. Farm problems and nearly every distinctive aspect of American rural life are in some way the product of the family-farm organization. Rural sociology, thus, is conceived of as a sociology of family-farm life. Nearly every chapter has concrete cases and illustrations drawn from the author's fourteen years research and teaching practice. There is little evidence of a rural bias. Rural sociology is conceived of as a field of specialization within the more comprehensive science of group relationships and not as a separate science. The chief defect seems to be the omission of bibliographies; except for a short list of references for additional reading, and the relatively few sources referred to in footnotes. It is hardly a source book but is very readable and full of human interest material.

M. H. N.

WHAT IS FASCISM AND WHY? Edited by TOMASCO SILLANI.
The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. 346.

Under the direction of the editor, twenty-seven Italian leaders and a number of Fascist associates present the cardinal Fascist principles concerning government, education, industry, religion, recreation, population, and so on. The arguments are ably presented and constitute a program, opportunist and realist, yet not without philosophic groundwork. Fascism is set up as an antidote for the failures of democratic-liberalism in Italy. The "State" is made supreme and Mussolini is presented as the main spokesman for the "State." The developmental character of Mussolini's policies is clearly evident. The question naturally arises: Will Fascism become sufficiently strong under Mussolini to enable it to continue when he is no longer the director of it? The answer is partly found in the educational program now going forward for the training of young Fascists. Perhaps the main problem raised by the volume is: What are the relative merits of Fascism and Democratic Liberalism? A second problem is: How do the merits of these two social philosophies vary in different human situations?

E. S. B.

AMERICAN STANDARDS AND PLANES OF LIVING. By THOMAS D. ELIOT. Ginn and Company, New York, 1931, pp. xii+931.

This is a book of readings. It begins with a discussion of Normal Life and the meaning of such terms as Standards of Living and Planes of Living. Among the actual planes considered are those of rural life, the Negroes, and of various types of families in urban districts. Group standards are analyzed and their relation to economic processes discussed. Chapter VI takes up the problem of wages in connection with standards. Here we find theories of wages, wage standards, minimum wage, and changes in cost of living discussed. A series of readings deal with the effect of poverty on standards and a second set show how influences such as migrations may change existing attitudes and standards.

Some attention is given to the ideal and method of family rehabilitation. Furthermore, the economic programs of representative Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish groups are presented. These programs enforce the progressive spirit evident throughout the book. Standards of child welfare are also detailed. The book ends with a discussion of community standards and their importance for social welfare.

The book is intended as a text or as a companion for other texts on Standards of Living or allied subjects. Like most books of readings, its greatest value is in the companionship relation. In this connection it has the utmost value. It covers so much ground and from so many angles that but little material on the subject is left uncovered. An array of Additional References are given at the end of each chapter, and throughout the book appropriate questions are presented. These are helpful in promoting class discussion.

G. B. M.

THE WAY OUT OF DEPRESSION. By HERMANN F. ARENDTZ. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1931, pp. xii+105.

The author considers various possible causes of the depression which began in 1929, showing for example, that over-production was not a major cause. He finds a waning demand and a failure of purchasing power to be very significant, and suggests as a remedy "the international remonetization of silver." Bimetallism is "the way out."

E. S. B.

DISCOVERING OURSELVES. A View of the Human Mind and How it Works. By EDWARD A. STRECKER and KENNETH E. APPEL. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1931, pp. xiii+306.

Writing for the general public the authors, however, speak with medical and psychiatric authority. After dealing with subjects such as nervousness, they discuss inferiority complexes, extroversion and introversion, repression, dissociation, projection, identification, and sublimation. Among many interesting statements the following may be cited: "The cause of nervousness is not our physical nerves"; "When we are feeling something very strongly, we are usually dealing with a complex"; "Fortunately for us and for society, many of our desires must be denied fulfillments"; and "Sublimation as a socializing process is interwoven into the fabric of our every day lives." Not only the lay reader but the sociologist will find other interesting nuggets of thought that will bear pondering in this popularly written volume.

E. S. B.

AMERICAN SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By FAY B. KARPFF. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1932, pp. xvii+461.

This historical sketch of the origins and development of social psychology not only bears the mark of distinctive skill in analysis but also discloses extraordinary ability of discrimination in the selection of the materials for discussion. Moreover, its appearance is timely, coming as it does, at the approximate ending of the first quarter of a century of social psychological exploratory endeavors in the United States. It should now serve as a guide for those who would be the new builders of a utilitarian and scientific social psychology, a social psychology which would stand apart from both sociology and psychology.

Beginning with a discussion of the early European philosophical background of the subject, the first half of the book surveys adequately the development of social-psychological thought in Germany, France, and England. From Lazarus and Steinthal in Germany, through Durkheim and Le Bon in France, down to Wallas and Hobhouse in England, the trends of the movement are placed in their proper perspective, enabling the student to note clearly the relationship between European and American social-psychological thought.

The contributions of the Americans, Ward, Baldwin, Cooley, Ross, Mead, Dewey, Thomas, Ellwood, Bogardus, Allport, and Bernard,

are presented with an attempt to reveal the likenesses and differences of their conceptions of the subject. In developing these, a biographical treatment has been utilized, thus affording the research student a digest of immense value. The uniqueness of the contributions is indicated. However, it is through this method that a weakness may be observed. Too much reliance has been placed upon the ability of the direct quotations to make sufficiently clear the explanations. A lack of emphasis by the author on her own conceptions of the various contributions thereby results. It is, notwithstanding, a splendidly conceived review of the field placed within the covers of one volume.

What is more important, perhaps, is the definite indication of the emergence of a social psychology dealing with the social personality from a practical point of view. The volume will henceforth be a most valuable tool for the young social psychologist. M. J. V.

THE MEASUREMENT OF INTERESTS IN RELATION TO HUMAN ADJUSTMENT. By DOUGLAS FRYER. Henry Holt and Company, New York, 1931, pp. xxxvi+488.

In the introduction written by Lewis M. Terman, the author is complimented because he has "envisaged the problem in its psychological setting and has made this setting clear." The various studies of human interests that have been made by the psychologists are carefully analyzed, presented, and criticized. The author gives consideration first to tests that have been devised whereby individuals rate their own interests. The reader is warned against the value of these, although he shows that when tested these self-ratings are found to have considerably more value than is usually credited to them. The tests that are administered objectively are given more space and found far more valuable. These are based on the behavior of an individual, on a person's knowledge, and statements of how he would act under given circumstances. Special scoring keys are given and discussed critically. Perhaps Chapter XI on "The Individual's Interests" is the most significant sociologically, for it deals with genetic interest histories, interest autobiographies, interest histories of superior adults, and the like. While some parts of the book are sketchy, most of the treatment is thorough and superior. Although sociologically the book does not consider social situations and other explanatory factors of interests, it is relatively complete psychologically. E. S. B.

PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL LEGISLATION. By MARY S. CALLCOTT. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xix + 416.

In the Foreword of this book we have revealed to us the nature of the problems that confront the men and women who attempt to promote social legislation. The author considers these problems and proceeds valiantly for a portion of the book. Then she takes up the various phases of social legislation, such as laws relating to poverty, child welfare legislation, housing, public health, education, labor legislation, and social insurance.

The treatment of any set of laws relating to these topics must necessarily be fragmentary. Some of the topics, however, are handled more fully than others. On the other hand, the value of the book depends on the principles rather than the facts of social legislation. The reviewer should have preferred a book which minimized the actual facts and which would have brought out in more definite relief the obstacles to successful legislation. Why are laws declared unconstitutional? What changes are occurring among the judiciary? Is legal education favorable to social legislation? Are we about to begin a new legislative era? What can be done to promote social legislation and safeguard its constitutionality? These and similar questions bulk large in the students' minds and should receive as complete answers as the situation allows. Although the author has made a beginning along this line of approach to the problem, more remains to be done. Nevertheless, we have been in dire need of a book on social legislation and this volume is most heartily welcomed.

G. B. M.

READINGS IN CITIZENSHIP. By J. CATRON JONES, AMRY VANDENBOSCH, and MARY BELLE VANDENBOSCH. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932, pp. xiii + 908.

This book is a compilation of readings to provide freshmen or other readers a background for an intelligent appreciation of the facts of American Government. The range of topics is so wide that there is an orientation not only for political science, but for several closely related social sciences. There are choice readings grouped under public opinion, the newspaper, advertising, political parties; economic subjects, labor problems, unemployment, insurance, agriculture, conservation; several reform ideologies are discussed, population, prohibition, the race problem, war and peace.

J. E. N.

SOVIET RUSSIA. By WILLIAM H. CHAMBERLIN. Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1931, pp. viii+486.

In reading this volume, one receives a number of definite impressions, such as: (1) that the author has written one of the best books available on present-day Russia; (2) that the author has a remarkable grasp of the current Russian situation; (3) that he has succeeded in presenting his data in an unusually unbiased fashion; (4) that a social enterprise of tremendous drive and significance is under way in Russia; (5) that the seemingly impossible overthrow of capitalism is succeeding in Russia; (6) that Soviet Russia is acting as a powerful object lesson to the rest of the world; (7) that, as a result of this object lesson, private capitalism is likely to undergo fundamental changes in other countries; (8) that as the French Revolution promoted nationalism in the world the Russian Revolution is indirectly fostering socialism throughout the world; (9) that the Russian masses are finding a new sense of freedom in not having above them the wealthy classes; (10) that propaganda accompanied by censorship may be a Juggernaut for good or evil; (11) that "emancipation" and "materialistic science" in Russia are already exhibiting fatal evidences of myopia; (12) that the Five Year Plan is succeeding; (13) that the present world crises and depression are being withstood as well as or better than in capitalistic countries; and (14) that the possible failure of Sovietism in Russia will rest not on attacks from the outside but on blunders and short-sightedness from within.

E. S. B.

THE BROOKHART CAMPAIGNS IN IOWA 1920-1926. A Study in the Motivation of Political Attitudes. By JERRY ALVIN NEPRASH. Columbia University Press, New York, 1932, pp. 128.

The author analyses and interprets the economic, ethnic, and political backgrounds of the Brookhart campaigns. Several attitudes are measured and correlated, and the variability of the attitudes is shown as due largely to economic factors. An interesting behavioristic study in public opinion.

J. E. N.

SMALL LOAN LEGISLATION. A History of the Regulation of the Business of Lending Small Sums. By DAVID J. GALLERT, WALTER S. HILBORN, and GEOFFREY MAY. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1932, pp. 255.

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL MANIFESTO. By JOSEPH HUSSLEIN.

The Bruce Publishing Company, 1931, pp. xxiv+328.

This book presents an interpretation of the Encyclical on Condition of Labor by Pope Leo XIII and of the later Encyclical on Reconstructing the Social Order by Pope Pius XI. This analysis, in a sense, sets forth the social philosophy of the Roman Catholic Church. These Encyclicals represent the views and the doctrines of the highest Catholic authority.

The author has taken these views and has organized the thought under appropriate heads. In drawing on the subject matter of the Papal Pronouncements, he usually presents material from the earlier Encyclical first and then from the second. Some chapters, however, contain material from both documents. It is remarkable how wide a variety of subjects are considered. Practically every phase of the economic problem is covered. Beginning with the factors that make for industrial revolution, the author takes up such questions as individualism, the Marxian program, socialism, private ownership, the proper use of wealth, duty of the state toward labor, human rights, fundamentals of the wage question, distribution of wealth. Christian labor unions, and social reconstruction. On each of these subjects the attitude revealed in the Encyclicals is vigorously set forth.

It must be clear to every reader of the book that the papal documents analyzed represent a remarkable statement of social needs and ideals. He need not agree with every detail or every view but he must recognize the tremendous value of so succinct a social philosophy.

Among the more valuable expressions of attitudes are those insisting on limitations on the rights of the individual, on the failure of *laissez faire*, the necessity of not only a minimum wage but also of an adequate wage, on the wider distribution of ownership of property, and on the exploitation of the worker.

On the other hand, many persons will not agree with the approach to social problems that is indicated throughout the documents. Others will regret to read that "No one can be at the same time a sincere Catholic and a true Socialist." Although the necessity of labor organization is proclaimed, definite limitations on Catholics in joining such organizations are also proclaimed. The greatest weakness of these social principles is their dependence on philosophical rather than on empirical reasoning. Probably in most cases the identical program would be laid down, but the method limits the wider acceptance of these principles.

G. B. M.

A RABBI TAKES STOCK. By SOLOMON GOLDMAN. Harper and Brothers, New York and London, 1931, pp. viii+247.

The author seeks to evaluate the countless cross currents in present-day Jewish life. He is an ardent Zionist and deals roughly with all opponents of Jewish cultural idealism and nationalism. The style is turgid and the treatment literary, polemic, and pedantic rather than straightforward and scientific. For the ignorant a glossary and a set of notes have been provided. Few non-professional readers will be willing to follow the author through to the weary sentimental end, though the subject-matter itself is interesting. E. F. Y.

RESEARCH IN BUSINESS EDUCATION. By BENJAMIN HAYNES and JESSIE GRAHAM. C. C. Crawford, Publisher, Los Angeles.

Business education research designates attempts to solve problems in this field on a fact-finding basis by use of precedures which have been set up as valid, including studies of administration and supervision, aims and purposes, curricular offerings, guidance and occupational placement, prognosis of school success, separate business subjects, teacher-training tests and types of teaching precedures. The techniques include educational surveys, community and occupational surveys, job analysis, surveys of social usage of utility, business bibliographies and other types of library research, curriculum research, and psychological research. Abstracts of theses and bibliography are appended. M.H.N.

EDUCATION FOR EMPIRE SETTLEMENT: A Study of Juvenile Migration. By ALEX G. SCHOLES. Longmans, Green and Company, London and New York, 1932, pp. xii+250.

This is a scholarly treatment of the history, present status and social aspects of the organized movement in England for promoting the migration of persons under twenty-one to the less populous parts of the British Empire. It is especially concerned with educational experiments designed to fit the emigrants for agricultural work in the colonies. Cultural, economic, political and social factors are analyzed. E.F.Y.

REALISM IN AMERICAN EDUCATION. By WILLIAM S. LEARNED. Harvard University Press, 1932, pp. 70.

A criticism of formal education today.

International Notes

Edited by JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG

GANDHI's hunger strike of six days' duration was directed against the Hindu caste system, although the British Government probably receives more than its share of blame for the situation. Gandhi sought to break down the traditional separation between caste Hindus and some 60,000,000 members of India's depressed classes or "untouchables," and was willing to sacrifice his life in such a noble cause. After a week of fearful anxiety, the Hindu conscience awakened. As a result of compromise between the Hindus and the representatives of the untouchables, 148 seats in the provincial legislatures have been granted the depressed classes, also a percentage of seats in the central legislature, and a system of primary elections will be instituted. These features are to be in effect for ten years. Thus, instead of the proposed separate electorate for the depressed classes, the Hindus themselves have broadened the franchise to include all in a general electorate, which, of course, was agreeable to the British government. In this one move Gandhi has probably accomplished the greatest single blow at social distance in India, yet the undermining of India's privileged castes is only begun.

THE LYTTON COMMISSION report to the League of Nations condemns Japan's actions in China and Manchuria and its organization of the State of Manchukuo, but at the same time does not find China blameless. The Commission urges that the open door policy be observed for legal and economic reasons. Former treaties are to be respected by all concerned, and it is suggested that solution of difficulties should conform with the provisions of the League Covenant, the Briand-Kellogg pact, and the Nine-Power Treaty. The report takes the stand that the League needs to act on the questions involved and thus to prove that it exists for some of the purposes set forth in the Covenant. At the time of writing, it is too early to say whether the outcome will be a League mandate over Manchuria, with Japan as the mandatory during China's epidemic of unrest and

civil war. Japan's threats to withdraw from the League may cause some concern, yet surely Japan would not go to such length to make international tangles worse for herself. Japan's military machine has been controlling the government, but unfortunately when the influence is so short-sighted as to take no notice of obligations beyond the confines of the islands, it is several decades behind the times; that is, having become a responsible member in the family of nations, Japan's policies eventually will have to become accommodated thereto. Japan's ambitions to set up an Oriental Monroe Doctrine with herself in the title rôle should be no exception to the observance of international obligations, and the mere fact that China with her hundreds of millions objects to Japanese protection or dominance under such caption provides sufficient grounds for the refusal of a Japanese "Monroe Doctrine."

GERMANY is experiencing her fifth campaign turmoil since March, with new Reichstag elections to take place on November 6. Furthermore, a new constitution is being drafted and will in due course be submitted to popular vote. Chancellor von Papen advocates among other changes the establishment of an upper chamber of the legislature similar to the United States Senate, also representation on such a basis that the Reichstag members would be responsible to specific voting districts. Occasionally there are rumors of a plot to overthrow the republic and restore the monarchy, and in such rumors the names of Chancellor von Papen, General Kurt von Schleicher, who is now the Minister of Defense, and President von Hindenburg are associated with that of former Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm. Governmental denials of this would be expected, but no doubt the monarchist faction in Germany would prefer monarchy to Hitlerism. Hitler would like to be dictator in Germany quite as Mussolini is in Italy, which is intolerable to von Hindenburg. At the rate that Hitler has been winning strength in the preceding elections, the episode on November 6 will be especially significant.

GERMANY's demands for equality in armaments, as well as the Sino-Japanese situation in Manchuria, are very nearly forcing the League of Nations to prove its value for the protection of world peace. There is a general impression that the smaller nations are in accord and favor disarmament. If only the United States, England, France, Italy, Germany, Russia, and Japan would agree to

disarm, the entire issue could readily be disposed of. How long will humanity have to bear the burden of fear and distrust and economic waste on account of the policies of these nations—policies of benefit only to profiteers and jingoists! Premier Herriot in a speech at Gramat recently reiterated the old French plan for giving the League an army and a navy to enforce its decrees, suggesting that a new compact might be evolved which would relieve the necessity for armament and fear. Giving the League such power of sanction is far from compatible with prevalent provincial attitudes like nationalism. It will certainly be more difficult for the several nations to get adjusted to a League with an army and navy of its own in lieu of the present system of armaments, than it was for the original thirteen states of America to accept a federal power of sanction. It implies a higher degree of political unity and harmony than exists today between the several nations mentioned. The Herriot proposal may seem too idealistic or utopian, but in fact it deserves sincere consideration.

EXPROPRIATION of land or property is under way in several countries simultaneously, and the several objectives are of interest. In Spain, about \$30,000,000 worth of confiscated Jesuit properties are to be distributed for social welfare. Furthermore, all grandees and some thousands of owners have lost or will lose, their holdings; 52,000,000 acres of land tracts have been confiscated without indemnity by action of the Cortes. These acres, valued at about five and one-half billion dollars, are to be apportioned to approximately 100,000 persons, and it is said that when the agrarian reform is completely fulfilled, possibly one million persons will have been benefited. In Mexico, the Legislature of the State of Vera Cruz has approved a decree that takes away citizenship rights from all Catholic priests, and the Governor has been empowered to take over all Catholic church property and convert it to other uses. Russia is about to undertake a new "Godless five-year plan" to suppress religion in Soviet Russia and to close church schools and oust clergymen, and a new peasant curb has been underway; peasants leaving the collective farms are to be barred from the recovery of lands contributed, and it is becoming increasingly unpleasant for those who become dissatisfied with collectivization. Those who withhold grain or produce wanted by the Soviet suffer severe penalties, even the death penalty having been reported for such thefts. Italy has been

working out a form of State socialism in so far as state control of industry through banking interests is concerned, although it is not exactly expropriation. However, in these instances as well as in South American countries like Uruguay and Chile, and whether it be dictatorship or republic, either socialistic control or expropriation is acclaimed for the welfare of the people.

RUSSIA's industrial campaign known as the Five-Year Plan is much below program, although there have been some increases over production in 1931. It is in the pig-iron production, steel, rolled metal, copper, oil, coal, and building industries that the lag varies from about thirty to fifty per cent of the 1932 program. The agricultural situation is probably worse, but the canning and fish industries appear more satisfactory. The world depression, food shortage, drifting of labor, and the Japanese war scare have been mentioned in explanation of the failure to reach quotas. Nevertheless, the Five-Year Plan remains the outstanding example of organized planning for a national economy, and it is remarkable that so much has been achieved in the face of obstacles both intra- and international. A symbol of the scale of the proposed Plan is the Dnieprostroy hydro-electric plant, the world's largest, which is equipped with American machinery. The investment is reported as 220,000,000 rubles (nominally \$110,000,000); the ultimate capacity will be 756,000 horsepower, the annual production 2,500,000,000 kilowatt hours of electricity. Sixteen million persons in an area of 70,000 square miles will be supplied with electricity by this one plant. The dam in connection with it is one of the largest in the world, 140 feet high and 2500 feet long.

INDUSTRIAL STRIKES of a serious nature are not so apt to occur during periods of grave depression as in times of so-called prosperity. However, the British cotton industry at Lancashire has just experienced such a strike. It lasted for one month, dating from August 27, and it is estimated that some \$60,000,000 in orders were lost. Over 150,000 operatives were on strike, and the cost to workers' unions was \$2,000,000 in strike pay. According to information before the writer, although the walkout occurred in order to fight a ten per cent wage cut, the final agreement provides for immediate reduction of wages by 15½ per cent. All agreements governing hours and wages have been restored, and displaced operatives reinstated.

Social Research Notes

Edited by MARTIN H. NEUMEYER

BOYS CLUB STUDY. The study of boys' clubs conducted by New York University under the general direction of associate professor Frederic M. Thrasher is reported in the September (1932) issue of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*. The purpose of the study is to evaluate the work of boys' clubs in a specific area. The articles pertain to the research methods employed and are not intended as reports of findings. It is difficult to measure the influence of a character-building agency upon its members because of the large number of variables, many of which are intangible. Any contribution towards a more accurate method of analysis of an important group of social agencies, such as boys' clubs, is timely and important. The claims as to the functions and achievements of all agencies that appeal to the public for support are being subjected to severe critical tests but we have lacked sufficient techniques to measure the contributions made by the agencies concerned.

The methods of research used in the New York study are classed as: (1) case-study, consisting largely of a series of studies of boys as persons in total situations; (2) statistical counts of various types of boys and the characteristics they display; and (3) an ecological study of the distribution of various types of boys. In order to procure a complete study of a given boy, including the total range of his experiences in his social world, information was procured from the boy himself, his teacher and school record, parents, associates, social workers, club leaders, and the records of club organizations. Several boys were studied exhaustively, including physical and mental examinations, psychiatric interviews, and the like. The statistical study included an analysis of areas covered by boys' clubs in terms of basic sociological data, a comparative study of delinquents and non-delinquents in terms of intelligence and emotional stability, and a membership study of the same boys' club units. The method of coding a Hollerith card is indicated. The ecological study was used to determine the areas served by the boys' club units. As a background study, a door-to-door canvass was made of the area of the

city to discover the kinds of institutions and uses of land and buildings. Probably the most interesting and important phase of the study when it is completed, at least from the angle of the boys' club leaders, will be the report of the mortality and turnover of boys' club membership and the reasons for the same as revealed by the interviews with several thousand boys.

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND COST, AND ILLITERACY. The census data are being reported through newspaper releases as the tabulations are completed. The statistics pertaining to the increase in school attendance and the decrease in illiteracy reveal the significant progress that is being made in education. Of the 38,387,032 persons from 5 to 20 years of age in the population of the United States on April 1, 1930, a total of 26,849,639 or 69.9 per cent, were returned as having attended school during the school year. The highest percentage of attendance was in the age group 7 to 13 years inclusive, being 95.3 per cent, whereas only 20.0 per cent of the 5 year old children and 21.4 per cent of older boys and girls, ages 18 to 20 inclusive, attended school. In each age group there was a decided gain in attendance over 1920, the largest increases being in the upper age levels. The increase of the ages 16 and 17 was from 42.9 to 57.3 per cent of the total number, which made for a total increase of over a million persons in that group. According to color and nativity, the white group had the largest percentages of attendance for all ages, with the Negroes ranking second and other races as third. For most of the younger ages the percentages attending school is higher for the native white of foreign or mixed and the foreign-born white than for the native parentage, while for the older ages, 16 and over, the percentage attending school is higher for the native white of native parentage. In the total population, for each year of age up to 13, and for ages 16 and 17, attendance rates were higher for girls than for boys, at age 14 the rates were practically the same for both sexes, but at ages 15, 18, 19, and 20, more boys than girls attended school. The northern and western sections of the country had better attendance records than the southern states. The northern section had the best record in so far as the lower age groups are concerned but the western section excelled other sections in attendance of the upper age levels.

Ten cents a day, or \$36.42 a year, from each person of voting age in the United States pays the entire bill for public education of all

the pupils and students. The total annual cost in 1930 was a little more than two and a half billion dollars. In addition, slightly more than a half billion dollars was expended by private educational institutions to educate 3,500,000 pupils and students in such schools.

Illiteracy has been reduced to 4,283,753 persons, which is only 4.3 per cent of the 98,723,047 persons 10 years old and over in the population of the United States. There were nearly 650,000 fewer illiterates in 1930 than in 1920 in spite of the population increase. The percentage of illiteracy for the age group 10 to 14 years was 1.2, with a higher percentage of illiteracy for each succeeding age group, reaching the highest mark of 9.7 per cent for the oldest group, 65 years and over. The ability to read and write, either in English or in any other language, which is the test of literacy, varies by color and nativity groups, the percentages range all the way from 0.6 for the white group of foreign or mixed percentage and 2.7 for all white to 16.3 for Negro and 25.0 for other races. Illiteracy is higher in rural than in urban centers and is slightly higher among males than among females. Nearly 10 per cent of the foreign-born white are illiterate. The inability to speak English among foreign-born people varies by groups, the percentages range from 1.9 for Negroes and 6.6 for the white group to 55 for Mexicans, 32.7 for Indians, and 27.8 and 21.6 respectively for Chinese and Japanese. All percentages are computed on the basis of the population 10 years of age and over of the respective groups.

FAMILIES AND MARITAL CONDITIONS IN THE UNITED STATES. The family in census usage is defined as "a group of persons, related either by blood or by marriage or by adoption, who live together in a household, usually sharing the same table." The term "family" is thus restricted to the private family, excluding institutions, hotels, boarding houses, and the like, but including single persons living alone in separate homes, which are classed as 1-person families. There were 29,904,663 families in the United States in April, 1930, when the census was taken. Of this number 26,705,294 or 89.3 per cent, were white; 2,803,756, or 9.4 per cent, Negro; and 395,613, or 1.3 per cent, of other races. The color and nativity groups have a smaller number of families in proportion to the size of the respective population groups except the foreign-born white. Only 10.9 per cent of the total population belong in this group yet they have 19.2 per cent of the total families.

The census enumerators ascertained information concerning home tenure. "Since a home is defined as the living quarters occupied by a family, the number of homes is always the same as the number of families. In the classification of tenure, a home is counted as owned if it is owned wholly or in part by any related member of the family. A home owned by a lodger, however, is counted as rented. Of all homes returned in the 1930 census, 14,002,074, or 46.8 per cent, were owned, and 15,319,814, or 51.2 per cent were rented, while for 1.9 per cent the tenure was not reported." Home ownership is more extensive in rural sections than in urban areas since 52.5 per cent of the farm homes and 53.2 per cent of the non-farm rural homes are owned by the occupants. It is interesting that there was an increase of ownership of all homes from 44.6 per cent to 46.8 per cent during the decade, 1920 to 1930, but ownership of farm homes decreased from 56.7 per cent to 52.5 per cent, during the same period. Only 23.9 per cent of Negro homes are owned by the occupants. The highest percentage of home ownership (51.8) was found among foreign-born white families, and the next highest (51.6) among families whose head was native white of foreign or mixed parentage.

Marriages seem to be on the increase. For the total population 15 years old and over, 60 per cent of the males were married in 1930, as compared with 59.2 per cent in 1920, and 61.1 per cent of the females were married, as compared with 60.6 per cent in 1920. There, however, was a decrease in the proportion of persons married in the age groups 15 to 19 and 20 to 24 years, except that there was a slight increase in percentage of married girls 15 to 19 years old. The decreases in percentages married for the younger age groups shown at the 1930 census are in contrast with increases shown in previous census reports. But the percentages married were higher for both sexes for all groups from 25 to 64 years. For persons 65 years old and over, the percentage married was lower for men and higher for women in 1930 than in 1920. The percentage of widowed was slightly lower in 1930 than in 1920 for both males and females at all ages, but the percentage of divorced increased. For the male population 15 years old and over the percentage divorced increased from 0.6 to 1.1 during the decade, and for the females the increase was from 0.8 to 1.3. But since many of the divorced people remarry or do not give their marital status the statistics of divorced persons do not give an accurate picture of conditions.

Social Photoplay Notes

G. D. N.

For sheer entertainment and splendid acting Mr. George Arliss is presented as the too prosperous head of a family in *A Successful Calamity*. Plot? Simple but quite in keeping with, and possibly offering some consolation to, victims of the current economic tempo. A father amasses a fortune in order to keep his family comfortably provided only to find when he settles down to enjoy life in security with his family that wife, son, or daughter may be seen only by appointment for how can an evening at home be compared with bridge, musicales, and the club? By cleverly simulating bankruptcy father draws the family suddenly together in the common bond of poverty and they experience a new thrill; that of an evening in one another's company.

Throughout the picture is George Arliss the very essence of poise who is master of every situation. That adjunct to personality of American development, the "poker face," by which its possessor is enabled to draw information from others without revealing himself is demonstrated by Mr. Arliss to perfection. Any who have aspirations in this phase of personality development should not miss the great actor in *A Successful Calamity*.

And since no motion picture performance is complete without "short subjects," the reviewer supplements with a few comments. Sound has breathed a new life into travel pictures. Airplane trips over the Andes accompanied by running comments of observers afford one a seat next the pilot and almost as many thrills; while trips up wilderness rivers where alligators as they scramble into the water, and strange peoples as they go about their daily tasks are actually heard, become excursions to be anticipated with each visit to the theater. Moreover these brief reels are skillfully handled — our guide introduces himself with a friendly quip, completely disarming us of all animosity, takes us on our journey, and then with a happy "cheerio," bids us adieu, leaving us with whetted appetites for more. The old time slapstick comedy has passed its zenith; its position taken by travel subjects, and "Mickey Mouse" — may there be a long and hardy existence for both!